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(1) 2-1-61. May 1960 issue of American Opinion; Testimony of Dr. Frederick Charles Schwary before HCVA 5-29-57, booklet entitled "Why People Become Communists"; published by American Opinion & application for membership in John Birch Society.

(2) 4-8-61. Four pamphlets re John Birch Society.

(3) 12-4-64. Two copies of 2nd memo of file sheet re speech of Rev. Dixon Hutchinson's Boss Review.

Disposition:

(2) Sent Bureau 2-8-61.

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DESCRIPTION:

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- (2) Testimony of Dr. Frederick Charles Schwartau before HCUA 5-29-57
- (3) Booklet entitled "Why People Become Communists" published by American Opinion
- (4) Application for Membership in John Birch Society

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THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

INCORPORATED

Belmont 78, Massachusetts

September 1, 1960
Bulletin For September
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Birch Society, Incorporated

Foreword

I live for those who love me,
For those who know me true . . .

G. L. Banks

For the past five weeks -- it seems like five months -- The John Birch Society has lived through one massive smear campaign on a national scale, and several regional attacks with varying degrees of plausibility, reach, and impact.

It is not our intention to let such attacks become an obsession with us, or to belabor them repeatedly or unduly in these bulletins. While we undoubtedly shall have to return to discussions of other attacks in the future, we shall dismiss the recent campaigns, for the present, with the minimum of comment that seems necessary.

The woods are full, however, of individuals and organizations willing to "fight Communism," so long as they can do so by going through motions which are entirely comfortable and respectable. And they have about as much chance of stopping the Communists as a schoolboy traffic cop has of stopping the get-away car of successful bank robbers, by holding up his hand at a street crossing. The John Birch Society undoubtedly has a few of them here and there in its own membership, though obviously not many.

For we are not kidding ourselves about the enemy with whom we have to deal. We do mean business, and we are not going through motions. We actually intend to save for our children and their children as much as possible of the glorious country and humane civilization which we ourselves inherited. And attacks such as recently let loose in various newspapers merely shake out those few members who have no heart for the fight, and leave us stronger than ever.

That The John Birch Society is stronger now than it was five weeks ago, even in those very areas where the attacks on us were most violent, must be visible even to our enemies. In fact our members in Wisconsin report that the "liberals" among their acquaintances seem to be utterly amazed. For our members, far from being sidetracked by the excitement, have simply taken the attitude: "So what? Don't bother me. I have a job to do to preserve the freedom of the United States for my children -- and yours." And these members have gone right ahead recruiting new members, and helping to form new chapters, with more determination than before.

But this coin portraying progress by and through adversity has a sadder side. For not only did the newspaper attacks cause acute embarrassment to many of our members in the areas affected; but to some it caused serious distress, danger to their jobs, and many reactions from neighbors and relatives for which embarrassment was too mild a word. Some of our staunchest friends and strongest supporters, especially among our Coordinators and members of our COUNCIL, were badly hurt. Their courage was tremendous and their loyalty as great. But there has been a constant weight of grief on my shoulders to see such wonderful friends beset by these smears and circumstances.

Nor is the end of such cruel unfairness -- mostly on the part of the very people we are trying to save from the results of their own blind folly -- even foreseeable at present. One of our most dedicated members, who lives in a Rocky Mountain State, recently wrote us as follows: "We are happy and encouraged over The John Birch Society out here. For the first time in several years I think there is hope in staving off the final tragedy, but only after everything gets much worse." And we could not agree more.

For both the momentum and the speed of our country's "movement to the left" are now very great. This movement is so extensive, so insidious, so ruthless, and has been planned and promoted over so many years by such diabolical cunning, that it seems irresistible. It is not irresistible, because there are absolute truths for mankind which -- across the decades or the centuries, as the case may be -- gradually reassert themselves and ultimately prevail. The question concerning the forces of evil that now threaten to destroy everything worth while in our contemporary world (as we said in the Blue Book) is not whether, but how soon, they can be routed -- and how much of our civilization can still be saved. Our great undertaking in The John Birch Society is to speed the day.

There seems little doubt, however, that the smothering advance of these conspiratorial demons will be carried a great deal further, even in this country, before we and other anti-Communist groups are strong enough to stop them; and before enough of the fundamentally decent American citizens can be awakened to what is really happening. And one way that "the situation will get worse before it can get better," which may be of minor importance in the whole scheme of things but is of major importance to all members of The John Birch Society, lies in these attacks to which the Society will

increasingly and unceasingly be subjected. For the sake, therefore, of the one thousand to three thousand new members who will be coming into the Society during September, while this bulletin is the current one being sent to each new member -- far more than for those who have joined during August or were already members -- I wish to make clear that we never lose sight of the effect on themselves of anything we do, nor ask for useless labors or needless sacrifice.

Which makes it necessary for me to wear my heart on my sleeve, briefly, once again. For on going into this fight -- not against Communism or socialism in a general way, but specifically and aggressively against the Communists -- I was well aware that there was no telling what they might do to me, in two years, or five years, or twenty years -- if it should take that long for us to win and if I should live that long to be in the fight. I simply made up my mind in advance to take whatever came, in stride. But the Communists can and will hurt me through what they do to my friends and supporters.

There will never be any suffering for our cause, on the part of the quietest of our members and no matter how transient the impact, that I shall not grieve over whatever responsibility I bear for the grief that falls on him. I shall not for that reason flinch from the deeper responsibility of asking for courage and sacrifice whenever, in the painful exercise of the best judgment God has given me, they seem to be justified by the ends to be achieved. But not without sorrow for every smear and every blow our members, or any member, may be asked to risk from the enemy.

I hate to be sounding so solemn, so melodramatic, and possibly so vain. (There are probably more "I's" in this bulletin than in all previous ones put together.) And I know that our older members are saying by now: "Oh, for goodness sake, don't explain so much. Let's

get on with the work." But please remember, there are newer members, too -- a lot of them these days -- to be considered. And these past few weeks have supplied much cause for sober meditation, even in the midst of pressures that never let up for a minute. Please be patient with me, therefore, while I summarize all I am trying to say in a final paragraph.

We are heading into some very stormy weather. How soon, and how stormy -- for our country, our institutions, and ourselves -- nobody really knows. The situation is already much worse, the Communist grip on our very lives is already much firmer, than even most of our well informed members will yet admit to themselves. But throughout whatever turbulent years we work together, and however rough may seem the course that we sometimes need to take, I shall be trying, with the best that is in me, to make good on the promise -- to you and to myself -- contained in the famous lines by George Linnaeus Banks with which I began these pages. I shall live for those who love me as well as I know how, and take for granted the loyalty of those who know me true.

On Politics

After the foregoing flight into "the wild blue yonder," it is clearly time to come down to earth. And probably nothing could be more "of the earth, earthy" than American politics today. Any candidate for any office who has any other thought than how to get himself elected seems to be rare indeed.

We do not involve The John Birch Society directly in politics. We are greatly interested in political action, but our job is to supply the information and create the understanding so that each member, voting entirely ac-

cording to his own conscience, can do so more intelligently. In view of recent and current developments, however, we certainly need to give considerable attention to political matters in this bulletin.

My support of Senator Barry Goldwater, as repeatedly emphasized, was purely personal (going back to years before our Society was founded), and was not a project of the Society in any way. But many good members of The John Birch Society worked very hard for Goldwater, and were deeply disappointed at the results. The following discussion, therefore, seems in order.

Six months ago Barry Goldwater was, to most of the people of the United States, just one of a hundred Senators. Today he is fully recognized as the undisputed leader of the conservative or Goldwater wing of the Republican Party. This is a considerable accomplishment, and step forward, by the Americanist forces. Many of those who expressed sharp frustration at the end of the convention have since come to feel that this solid achievement was well worth the effort, should not have been tossed away, and that Goldwater was wise in consolidating the Americanist political gains under his leadership. For if, in his present position, he can maintain the support that gave him that leadership, he will be able to speak with so powerful a voice that it cannot be ignored.

In this connection it should be noted that Goldwater has not yielded one inch as to the political principles on which he stands. On Pages 20-24 of the reprint of my Chicago speech, which was sent to all subscribers to American Opinion, I summarized those principles with regard to many specific issues. If Goldwater had repudiated a single one of these courageously expressed Americanist views, under the pressures of political expediency, there would be ample reason to write him off

and forget him. He has not. He has merely taken the position that the best chance of restoring these principles to our American economic-governmental system is through working for them, and mustering political strength behind them, within the Republican Party instead of from the outside.

I do not agree. (I wish I could.) For I think that the left-wing pressures within the Republican Party will so steadily increase as to smother all efforts, no matter how powerful or how skillfully led, to make Americanist views effective. But to whatever extent Goldwater may be charged with resorting to political expediency, it is with regard to how he intends to fight for his principles, and not with regard to those principles themselves. And I take considerable consolation out of the fact that the only thing I personally guaranteed concerning Goldwater, anywhere or at any time, was that he would stand completely firm and unshaken on those principles.

It is my honest guess that, as small as we were, and still are, members of The John Birch Society throughout the nation were responsible for about one-third of the strength of the Goldwater "boom." For few others in the fight equalled in dedication and articulate effort the contribution which we made. In my Chicago speech I said that most of us would support Goldwater and his principles within the Republican Party, and hence the Party itself, if we were given any convincing guarantees that Nixon would represent the whole Party and not just its left-wing elements. Goldwater himself seems to feel that he has received satisfactory assurances that this will be the case. Most of us feel that he is giving way to sheer wishful thinking -- or to political expediency -- in this attitude. We therefore feel that the conscience of our conservative, and the exigent danger to our country, should have led Goldwater to take a bolder course.

What might have happened, in a strictly political sense, is anybody's guess. I agree that, once Rockefeller was out of the running, even as to courtesy votes on the first ballot, there was sound argument against Goldwater's leaving his name in nomination. For the way the states come alphabetically, the showing for the conservative cause would have been very poor by the time Nixon's required total for nomination had been reached and the whole ballot converted into a stampede. So if Goldwater really had and has the unshakable objections to a third-party movement that he has indicated since the Convention, there seems to be nothing more he could have done. And the only questions would be as to how far he should have gone in scolding his followers and in announcing his enthusiasm for Nixon.

But it is my personal opinion that Goldwater failed to realize the size, and especially the earnestness, of the following throughout the country that supplied his strength at Chicago. I believe that he is a sufficiently patriotic American for his loyalty to the Republican Party and his aversion to a new party both to be outweighed, if he saw a new party movement led by himself as the one practicable means of saving his country from continued engulfment by the Communist tide. And I further believe that exactly this opportunity was offered him by the circumstances and forces surrounding the Republican Convention.

Suppose Goldwater had said, to the Convention and through it to the nation: "Every single thing we conservative Republicans asked for, to justify our continued loyalty to the Party, has been denied us. In the surrender by Nixon to Rockefeller, in the completely re-made platform that has resulted, in the principles and purposes that we shall be asked to support, we have been completely ignored. There no longer being any place for conservative Americans within the Republican Party, therefore, any more than

within the Democratic Party, the time has come when the conservatives of both parties must unite to save our country from socialist stagnation and Communist tyranny. For those who wish to stand on Americanist principles with me, the American Party is now in existence, as of this minute, with a membership of one. We have no other course."

That statement would have electrified the nation. If a ticket of Goldwater for President and Strom Thurmond for Vice-President had then immediately been formed, and the mechanical organization of the new party carried out as rapidly as possible, I believe that -- despite all of the tremendous and admitted handicaps -- the Goldwater-Thurmond ticket would have carried most of the southern states, a few states elsewhere, and have made a terrific showing in November. I do not think the ticket could have won. But I do think that, with such a start and with growing momentum, the American Party could have elected many Congressmen in 1962, and a President in 1964. And that in the meantime its growing strength would have made it of tremendous value as a brake to slow down the present run-away movement to the left. It seems to me that at Chicago, by Goldwater's own statesmanship over many years, by the intensive and untiring work of tens of thousands of patriotic Americans, and by a gradually developed concatenation of circumstances, there had been created for him a rendezvous with history which it was a tragedy for him not to keep.

The above, of course, is only conjecture, so far as possible political developments are concerned. But from another point of view there is no conjecture at all as to what might have resulted from the indicated action. For the opportunity at Chicago to stand strictly on moral principles rather than political issues, and to begin then and there a moral crusade to abandon political expediency,

to stop compromising with evil men or evil means, and to restore honesty and honor and patriotism and pride to the American government again -- that opportunity was unquestioned. If Goldwater had been able and willing to rise above politics he might have said: "The time has come to part company with those who lie and twist and turn for political advantage. The time has come when we must simply stand for what is right, regardless of consequences. Win or lose, and come what may, I shall now look only to the moral principles involved in any course as the guide for my actions. The fundamental base of our new party, underlying even the soundest political principles, will be moral principles from which we shall not swerve. Let all join me who will; and we shall become an army which the forces of opportunism can neither budge nor circumvent. And to this army there will gather in time enough men of like mind to save our country from the piecemeal death now planned for it by our enemies.

That statement and action would have called, of course, for a moral leader more than a political leader. And the one sad truth that Goldwater did make clear at Chicago was that he is primarily a politician. We still think that he is the ablest, most honorable, most statesman-like, and most Americanist in his views, of all the politicians on the American scene today. But a politician he nevertheless remains. And we should like to conclude these comments, therefore, by reminding you of a passage from Page 124 of the Blue Book, which seems to me quite appropriate to present circumstances. "I have made ... (these remarks) ... in order to emphasize the wisdom of the old advice: 'Put not your faith in politicians.' We shall have to use politicians, support politicians, create politicians, and help the best ones we can find to get elected. I am thoroughly convinced, however, that we cannot count on politicians, political leadership, or even political action except as a part of something

much deeper and broader, to save us."

It is the deeper and broader purpose to which we must continue to give our hearts and hands and minds. Only as political action remains subsidiary to our unceasing, growing effort -- and merely one part of that effort -- can we make political action help us to the accomplishment of our more permanent objectives.

On How To Vote In This Election

But this being an election year, at present we face squarely the question: What do we do now? Each member's own conscience will have to be his guide, as it has been and always should be. The outlook is admittedly dark and confusing, because of the difficulty conservatives will have in making their weight felt in any way -- and the utter impossibility of making that weight more effective by concerted national action. And the only means we see of being helpful at all is by setting out the various courses that have been proposed, from which perhaps you might thereby more intelligently pick your own.

(1) Work and vote for Kennedy, in order to help things to get worse before they can get better -- and in order to unify the conservative opposition against an unmistakably leftwing regime. This could be "politically smart." I don't know. I could never do it, because I have no confidence in "political smartness" to save us, and because I cannot vote anyway for men or measures in which I do not believe.

(2) Work and vote for Nixon, in the hope that he will "turn right" once he has reached the White House; and in the belief that, in any event, he will be obliged to have a certain number of able conservatives among the

advisers and administrators around him, whose influence will be important. Many of our members will do so, for one reason or both; and we offer no slightest argument or objection. We just wish we could be that optimistic about either reason.

(3) Vote for Nixon, but try to give the conservative voice more strength by writing a letter to Nixon that you are voting for him only because Barry Goldwater has requested it. This campaign, first suggested in Arizona, has sprung up in many other states, with many variations. One is to urge Nixon, in the letter promising to vote for him, to make Barry Goldwater his Secretary of State. Another has a reverse twist. It is that you write Nixon, promising to vote for him, provided Nixon will use his influence successfully to get Christian Herter fired as Secretary of State before the election. Still another suggestion in this category takes the form of petitions, on which each signer puts after his name a figure (15 or 50 or whatever he wishes), representing the number of hours the signer promises to work for Nixon's election (besides voting for him), provided Nixon will agree to the printed statement at the top of the petition. That statement is a promise by Nixon that, if elected, he will appoint as his Secretary of State one of the conservatives there named.

We think that some of these suggestions become impractical, because it would take a more ambitious organization and campaign, to give them effectiveness through sufficiently wide use, than is likely to arise. But it seems to us that a flood of letters, in accordance with the first simple plan, might do some good and certainly could do no harm.

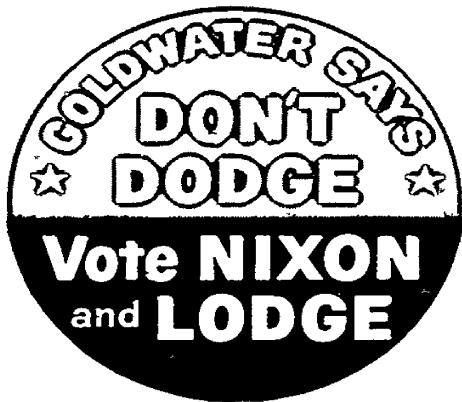
In this connection, an entirely different method of demonstrating political loyalty to Goldwater as a basis for support of Nixon is represented by some large plastic

campaign buttons, of which a reproduction to exact size is printed here (in black and white). The top half of the actual button has white letters on a blue background; the bottom half, white letters on a red background. There is the usual safety pin underneath for attaching this button to a lapel. The whole thing is well made, and both striking and attractive as campaign buttons go. It has been designed by, and is available from

Mr. George M. Watson, Jr.
29 Fairview Avenue
Watertown, Massachusetts

The price for 1 - 19 buttons is one dollar each; for more than 20 buttons, fifty cents each. The price includes careful packaging and prepayment of postage in all cases. We have had absolutely nothing to do with this button except to pass on to you this information about it. The price is based on the comparatively small quantities which Mr. Watson himself has felt justified in having manufactured at the start, and he hopes to be able to supply larger quantities at much better prices than indicated above if the button achieves wide popularity. And it does have one unusual and precedent-shattering feature which might not at first occur to you. It puts into use, probably for the first time in American history, a campaign button bearing the name of anybody other than a candidate or candidates in that campaign.

(4) Vote, wherever it has been made legally possible to do so, for a slate of independent electors. There will be several southern states, and perhaps a few others, where the necessary formalities will have been carried out. The chief purpose in this plan is to throw the election itself into the House of Representatives. We



think the chances of this being accomplished are rather small, but the possibility is certainly there, especially if the contest between Nixon and Kennedy is extremely close. So the effort merits the careful consideration of those conservatives who are in a position to support it.

(5) Vote for the ticket consisting of General Merritt B. Curtis for President and Byron M. Miller for Vice-President, if they are on the ballot in your state; or if they are not, help to get enough petitions signed to put them on the ballot. Curtis and Miller are the candidates of third-party groups known in various areas respectively as the States Rights Party, the Constitution Party, the Tax Cut Party, and the For America Party. We do not know anything about the local composition of these different groups in different states, and that is something which should be checked by any good citizen before giving them his support. But these parties are working together at the national level behind one set of candidates, who seem to be good men, and one platform, which is generally sound. Their combined total strength is small, and by any realistic appraisal the chances of their affecting the outcome in this election also seem small. But this is the only third-party movement actually in the field that amounts to anything at all. And these people are earnest. Their campaign deserves to be listed here, and their effort deserves your consideration.

(6) Write in the name of Goldwater, or any candidate you prefer, on the ballot. In some states this vote will be counted, in some it will not. In some it may invalidate your whole ballot, in others it may be practically impossible because of the kind of voting machine in use. Check the means and the effect of a write-in vote in your own polling place.

As all members who were subscribers to American Opinion this past spring know, it was your Founder's

intention personally to encourage a huge write-in vote for Goldwater, regardless of who was nominated. But as one of our members wisely pointed out at the time, the postcards announcing this determination should have read: "Nominate anybody you please, I plan to vote for Goldwater" (instead of "I'm voting for Goldwater"). For the developments at Chicago, and especially Goldwater's own plea that his supporters vote for Nixon, made it seem to many conservatives that the proposed write-in votes for Goldwater would now be self-defeating in purpose. We simply list the "write-in vote" as a possibility, without recommendation either way.

(7) Vote for candidates for all other offices, but do not cast any vote at all for the national ticket. This is one form of protest against the indistinguishable "liberalism" of both parties and their candidates.

In 1952, when John Kennedy was running against Henry Cabot Lodge for the U. S. Senate, the total vote for both candidates was about forty thousand less than for other important offices. That is because, in Massachusetts, where both men were best known, there were that many of us who could not have brought ourselves to vote for either man for dogcatcher, much less for President or Vice-President of the United States. An equally widespread protest on a national scale this year would not go unnoticed, and might have some psychological value in determining the future course of the presidential candidate elected. But it is true that a failure to vote for Nixon is at least half a vote for Kennedy, which is an important consideration that cannot be ignored. You may agree with the man from Oklahoma who wrote Newsweek, "Thank God they both can't win." But you must remember that one of them can, and will.

To sum up, therefore, we are making no recommendation as to how anybody should vote. Not even indirectly

by telling how I shall vote -- which is still undecided. For once again the "liberals" have so confused the picture as to leave no clearcut method by which the conservatives can make their voice -- or their strength -- effective. I certainly make no claim to any such superior political wisdom as to feel justified in announcing my own vote as a guide, for any who might wish to follow it, under the present conditions. Only when there is an unmistakable division between right and wrong, or between conservative and liberal, shall we presume to try to influence the decisions of our members in strictly political contests. We hope and believe that by 1964 there will be such an opportunity -- and that we shall survive as a nation, with our present institutions still sufficiently intact, long enough to make that opportunity worth while. But even then each member's own conscience will have to be his real guide, as to how he should vote, as it has been and always should be. And today it would not be wise or proper for us even to hold up a lantern, to try to help that conscience find its way.

Agenda For The Month

1. USE THE MANION QUESTIONNAIRE. Get your conservative friends to do the same. An additional sample copy of the questionnaire is enclosed. If you need a few more, write to The Manion Forum for them. If you need a large quantity you are authorized to reprint your own, provided there is no change of any kind in the copy.

Since the opportunity for conservatives to promote conservatism in the presidential election has not been conserved, there is all the more reason to work hard to elect as many good men as possible to Congress; and to take advantage of the election to get both candidates and incumbents committed to sound principles, or exposed

in their "liberal" colors, as the case may be. This questionnaire is the best hammer yet devised for nailing demagoguery down so that everybody can see it.

2. HARASS HERTER. And this is no "un-Christian" personal attack either. It is a justifiable defensive activity on behalf of our country. We believe it is both fair and correct to say that our present Secretary of State is taking every possible advantage of this election campaign period to advance the cause of one-worldism in every way he can. To whatever extent that program requires a derogation of America's prestige, a sacrifice of American lives or interest, a sell-out of our friends, or the support of our enemies, Mr. Herter seems to be ready and willing to proceed -- just as fast and as far as present focussing of the public's attention so largely on the coming elections makes it easier for him to do so. And we suspect that he will go on even more of a rampage, as soon as Congress adjourns this "Lady Bird" session, unless we can somehow dampen his anti-American ardor.

(a) We reported the suggestion of letters to Nixon about Herter, at the proper place above. (b) We suggest here a veritable flood of letters, short and serious, to Herter himself, asking him if he wants to go down in history as the worst Secretary of State the United States ever had. (Some wag has already described him as our worst Secretary of State since John Foster Dulles!) And you can point to his visible attempt to turn over the Panama Canal to the Republic of Panama, his betrayal of Syngman Rhee, his coddling of Castro, his severing of diplomatic relations with Trujillo and effort to push the Dominican Republic into the Communist camp, or any one of a dozen of his similar activities, in support of your question.

(c) Sarcasm and satirical actions generally have little

effect, when rained on the thick skins of our contemporary "liberal" destroyers of all that they should protect. But in this total campaign to stop Herter before he completely sells out our country, we should use all honorable means for their cumulative effect. We call your attention, therefore, to a couple of paragraphs by columnist Ollie M. James in the Cincinnati Enquirer which we have condensed as follows:

Castro and his Communists confiscated all American property in Cuba, and we fired off a stiff note. One of our planes was shot down over international waters by Russian MIGs, and we fired off a stiff note. There is a coup involving the pro-American government in Laos, and this may necessitate another stiff note. We know that we have the greatest military power in the world, but a harrowing worry occurs to us. How well are we supplied with stiff note paper?

We suggest that you mail a few sheets of "stiff note paper" to The Honorable Christian A. Herter, Department of State, Washington, D. C., along with a stiff note of your own. Either reproduce or paraphrase the above paragraph to explain your action; and you might tell him that since writing "stiff notes" is the only thing he and his Department seem willing to do to oppose the steady Communist advance, you are trying to help him to make his notes more stiff and more frequent. These "billet-doux" should be entirely additional to the serious letters written according to (b) above (and perhaps signed by another member of the family).

(d) Write your local newspapers, vigorously criticizing Herter's current and recent actions. Your best theme, probably, is simply a recital of some of the more glaring examples of his being soft on Communism to the serious detriment of our national interest, and to the increasing

danger to our national safety and independence. (You may find the many pages on Herter in the June, 1960 issue of American Opinion of help in this connection, but it should not be at all necessary for your concise complaint.) And a line to the effect that, unless Herter has been fired before election day, you will not be able (or do not intend) to vote for the Republican ticket (if you mean it, or worded so that you do mean what you say) would be very much in order. This threat repeatedly popping up in "Letters to the editor" in newspapers all over the United States will be far more effective than when merely expressed in letters to Nixon.

(e) If you are active in Republican Party work, or if there is any effort to enlist your services, emphasize to your Party contacts your objection to Herter's policies and actions. Or call up stalwart Republicans that you know, tell them you are disturbed over Herter's course and over its effect on the thinking of many who might otherwise vote for Nixon and Lodge. If you are a financial contributor to the Party, or have been or might be, let it be known that the extent of your contribution (if any) will be influenced by the pro-Communist "blunders" of Herter and his State Department that are now following one another in such rapid succession.

For any additional moral support, of which you may feel the need, in thus supporting an all-out attack on Herter, let us remind you that on August 11, 1960, Arthur Gardner, former United States Ambassador to Cuba from 1953 to 1957, in an interview copyrighted by the New Bedford Standard Times, publicly accused our State Department of being responsible for what has happened in Cuba. On August 16, 1960, in Miami, Florida, our former ambassador to Peru and Brazil, William D. Pawley, labeled Castro as a "Communist enemy" and "the worst threat to confront the United States in fifty years," while maintaining that Trujillo was a true friend of the United

States; and sharply criticized our government for participating in the Organization of American States, with its "severe measures" against Trujillo and wrist-slapping of Castro. Yet on August 26, 1960, our State Department, after having already established an embargo to prevent Trujillo from getting arms to defend his government from the Communists, added another vicious blow in its effort to have the Dominican Republic become another Cuba, by severing diplomatic relations. And former Ambassador Spruille Braden, in speeches and articles for the past two years, has been pointing out the blatant but still incredible pro-Communist slant in the actions of our State Department with regard to all of Latin America. If Herter is allowed to continue his present course until a new administration comes in, without being dropped or stopped, he will have done in these few months immeasurable damage to our remaining anti-Communist friends everywhere in the world.

3. Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, president of the National Council of Churches, was the speaker at the United Protestant worship service at the Fifth National Jamboree of the Boy Scouts of America at Colorado Springs, Colorado, on Sunday, July 24, 1960. The service was attended by 35,000 Boy Scouts and leaders.

One of our members wrote Boy Scout Headquarters to ask why the Rev. Dahlberg had been selected for this assignment. He received a 2-1/2 page single-space typewritten letter explaining how carefully top executives of the Boy Scouts had investigated Dr. Dahlberg before issuing this invitation, and what a wonderfully clean bill of health they had been obliged to give him as a patriotic American citizen and sincere anti-Communist. The letter was accompanied by considerable material, including a review of the sermon Dr. Dahlberg had preached for the occasion.

The sermon appears to have been excellent, and appropriate. But the question still remains as to why the Boy Scouts had to go out of their way to build up Dr. Dahlberg, and indirectly to endorse the National Council and its top hierarchy in this manner. We suggest that you write, asking that question, to

Mr. J. A. Brunton, Jr.
Chief Scout Executive
Boy Scouts Of America
New Brunswick, New Jersey

Since it did not seem to disturb Mr. Brunton any that the Rev. Dahlberg had been affiliated with at least seventeen organizations and enterprises which followed the Communist line, you might expand the record for Mr. Brunton just a bit. In 1951, for instance, the Committee On Un-American Activities published a special report entitled "The Communist Peace Offensive," and subtitled "A Campaign To Disarm And Defeat the United States." This report opened with the following words: "The most dangerous hoax ever devised by the international Communist conspiracy is the current world-wide 'peace' offensive." In a section of that report, entitled "Committee For Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact," the House Committee traced the beginning of that "Peace" organization to a committee of five -- one of whom was the Reverend Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg. And the fact that Dr. Dahlberg was an organizer of this particular Communist front was confirmed by the Communist newspaper, The Worker, on Page 11 of its edition of July 24, 1949.

Or you might remind Mr. Brunton that last December Dr. Dahlberg, who had been outspoken in his criticism of the "ruthless Franco dictatorship," showed up in Formosa -- as a guest of the United States Government -- and chose that opportunity to state publicly that he was in complete agreement with the report of the World Order Study Conference in Cleveland which had urged our recognition

of Red China. This not only caused serious embarrassment to the large colony of Protestant missionaries and missionary organizations with headquarters on Formosa -- many of whose representatives publicly repudiated Dr. Dahlberg; but it was the kind of deliberate blow to the prestige of the Nationalist Chinese Government which so much pleases the Communists everywhere.

Or you could further remind Mr. Brunton that Dr. Dahlberg's "Peace vs. Annihilation Drive," in the opinion of many Protestant missionaries and ministers, has "only helped to further the international Communist conspiracy." Nor is this protest merely a matter of locking the barn door after the horse has been stolen. For you can be sure that a group who would select Dr. Dahlberg to be honored in this way will find other opportunities to favor leftist celebrities, unless your flood of letters gives them pause. But just to add a positive approach to the correspondence as well, suggest that since Mr. Brunton was entirely willing this year to invite Dr. Dahlberg, so controversial a figure on one side of the Air Force Manual argument, he certainly should be willing to invite Dr. Billy James Hargis to be the minister for the same occasion next time.

4. Reproduced on the next page, by permission, is an article from the Sunday, August 28 issue of the Boston Herald. Our members who have read Mr. Montgomery's book (one copy of which has been supplied to all chapters), or who are otherwise thoroughly familiar with the actual facts of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, and with its long-continued use by the Communists for propaganda purposes, will need little urging from us to go after NBC over this whole monstrous performance. As many of you know, we waited until Bob Montgomery's book had appeared, because of the difficulty otherwise of giving our members any adequate background material on the case, before doing anything about the two television broadcasts

Sarnoff Letter Explains NBC Stand In Sacco-Vanzetti Television Case

By ARTHUR E. FETRIDGE

Some time ago I said "If I can help it this will be my last article on the Sacco-Vanzetti case." I meant it at the time but two things have happened since then that seem to require this particular column.

The first was a letter I received from Robert W. Sarnoff, chairman of the board of the National Broadcasting Co., the network that was responsible for the two-part Sacco-Vanzetti story on Channel 4 and other NBC stations throughout the country in June.

The second was a letter I received from Robert H. Montgomery, Boston attorney and a author of the recently published "Sacco-Vanzetti: The Murder and the Myth." His letter is self explanatory and I pass it on for you below to reach your own conclusions.

As for Mr. Sarnoff. His letter was in answer to one I wrote to him in which I asked among other things, if he proposed that television be used to give false impressions, to further the cause of Communism, to wreck a man's name (Gov. Fuller's) and to make a mockery of justice?"

AMAZED, HE SAYS

The NBC chairman chose to ignore that question but did say "Given a powerful and controversial script which we did not believe should be suppressed in favor of blandness and pussyfooting . . . NBC did indeed strive conscientiously to achieve a responsible and well documented presentation."

To that I only can say I am amazed that Mr. Sarnoff seems

to have confused "blandness" and "pussyfooting" with truth and vilification.

Mr. Montgomery's letter pretty clearly indicates Mr. Sarnoff and his network have no intention of allowing anything but the defense side of the famous case to appear on NBC.

It follows:

Aug. 22, 1960

"Dear Mr. Fetridge:
"About 10 days ago I was called on the telephone by a representative of the Dave Garroway show which is broadcast by NBC and asked whether I would appear on the show to be broadcast on Aug. 18, 1960, my part to be a ten-minute interview about my book 'Sacco-Vanzetti: The Murder and the Myth.' I readily agreed and a definite appointment was made for a tape-recording on Wednesday, Aug. 17, at 3 P.M. I was to report to Studio 3B and to ask for a certain man and was told that another certain man would interview me. My publisher had sent the studio several copies of the book and everything was in readiness.

Says He Was Wrong

"I am a little old for naivete, but at the time I really believed that NBC was willing to permit 10 minutes of truth to go over its airways to offset in some measure its two hours of travesty and character assassination. I was wrong.

Rehearsal Going On

"Promptly on the hour I arrived. A rehearsal of the show was going on in Studio 3B but it was quite apparent that the

man in charge did not expect me. He was all in a dither, he said, 'Who was I, the turtle man?' No, I was the Sacco-Vanzetti man and I had an appointment for an interview. 'Oh, well, just sit down.' I sat down. A few minutes later, 'Weren't you told that there had been a change in the schedule?' No. 'Oh, well, there has been; there was an important vote in the Senate this morning and we have had to reschedule the show and you should have been notified.' But, anyway, just sit down and we will take care of you later.'

"In a few moments a man with a better story came in. My appointment was not a definite appointment at all. It merely was a preliminary inquiry to see whether I would appear and it was intended that a definite appointment would be made later. Although this was contrary to the fact, I asked, 'Do you wish to set a date for the later date now?' 'Well, no, we have to do more preliminary work and we are not prepared for the interview as yet.'

'Cat Out of Bag'

"The cat came out of the bag in a second conversation with the second man held over the telephone. What had been planned, he said, was a debate between me and Mr. Reginald Rose, author of the two-hour telecast released in the early part of June. Our debate was to be broadcast on Aug. 23, the anniversary of the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, a date which is used for memorial exercises throughout the entire Communist world. I protested that I had not been told about

anything except a 10-minute interview of me alone.

"I have no objection to appearing on a program with others and debating the case, but certainly I did not want to become a participant in memorial exercises which have been over the years a very effective means of perpetuating the myth. But anyway the plan had been abandoned and they did not want me on the program.

Reason Not Given

"The reason for abandoning the plan was not divulged. One may speculate. Perhaps Mr. Rose who knows nothing about the Sacco-Vanzetti case did not care to debate with me. Perhaps someone in the organization was bright enough to realize that although I might be lured to New York with the promise of an interview and would not object to a debate, I certainly would not become a participant in memorial exercises.

"Did they want me to appear at a later date?

"After hemming and hawing I was asked to wait 15 minutes while my interlocutor consulted with someone else and at the end of 15 minutes I was told that they did not want me then or thereafter for interview or debate. I was assured, however, that the company was full of integrity and that although I had come without a definite appointment they would pay my expenses and send me to the airport in a company car, offers I did not accept.

Signed
"Robert H. Montgomery"

in June. But the Fetridge article and the treatment of Mr. Montgomery by NBC give us a perfect opening for a barrage of letters now.

(a) We suggest that you send that barrage to

Mr. Robert W. Sarnoff
Chairman of the Board
National Broadcasting Company
30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

(b) We suggest that you further write Purex Corporation, Ltd. (manufacturers of Dutch Cleanser), South Gate, California, who were sponsors of the two-part television show. (And who are reported to be all set to put on several equally "loaded" shows this fall.) As to what you tell either NBC or Purex about their very substantial assistance in a Communist propaganda program of over thirty years duration, it will be better if each member works out his own approach. But again, please do not feel that this shouting after the event is poor timing. For, as you well know, pro-Communist tripe of one kind or another pours out over our airwaves in an incessant stream. And if we can get broadcasters or sponsors to begin to have any fear as to what may happen, in the way of really extensive criticism or of unfavorable impact on their businesses, as a result of using their facilities to promote a Communist line, the whole advertising and entertainment brotherhood will become much more cautious about doing so.

(5) Each month we try to say a word of praise or encouragement for some other individual or organization fighting "on our side," and even though we may not always agree in every respect with their programs or purposes. This month we suggest that you write to

Mr. Willis Stone
Chairman, National Committee For
Economic Freedom
6413 Franklin Avenue
Los Angeles 28, California

This organization, as most of you probably know, is working for the "Proposed 23rd Amendment," which would

take government completely out of its present enormous competition with free enterprise and -- primarily with the billions of dollars of annual loss thus eliminated -- would abolish the personal income tax. The legislatures of four states have now approved resolutions in support of this proposed amendment, and more are expected to begin falling in line. Congratulate Mr. Stone on what he and his associates have accomplished, ask for information about the movement if you are not already familiar with it, and wish him steadily increasing effectiveness and success in the future.

Also, be advised that his Committee is holding a STATE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE at the La Salle Hotel in Chicago on September 15-16, 1960. All who might be able to help, in promotion of legislative action on behalf of the Proposed 23rd Amendment in their respective states, will be very welcome.

Following that Conference, and beginning with a rally in the ballroom of the La Salle Hotel at 8:00 P. M. Friday, September 16, will be the annual fall convention of WE, THE PEOPLE. This will last through Saturday and Sunday, and Harry Everingham has arranged for an excellent program with many outstanding speakers. We know that many of our members in the midwestern states will attend this convention, and profit from it, as they have in the past.

(6) Ask your Congressman or one of your Senators -- by letter, by telephone, or in person -- to find out for you how much money is being sent out monthly as Social Security payments to non-American citizens living abroad, to how many recipients, in what countries, in what size average payments. As soon as you have information which he -- and you -- consider dependable, put it in your Members Monthly Message or otherwise send it on to us. Of course we do not actually need the same in-

formation from thousands of members, and will not be able to acknowledge its receipt; but we have a strong suspicion that it will not be the same information in all cases. And this mass inquiry will do three things. From the total information supplied we should be able to sift the truth about what we suspect is becoming a major scandal. The number of a Congressman's constituents inquiring about this particular item will make him acutely conscious of the interest and doubt concerning the whole affair. The number of inquiries received by Social Security from Congressmen and Senators will make those bureaucrats aware that they are on shaky ground with regard to these particular handouts. And we can then try intelligently, and perhaps effectively, to do something about it.

(7) Examine everything you buy, as to its source. If it has been manufactured in a Communist-controlled country (which means by slave labor), be patriotic enough to refuse it regardless of the price. And don't hesitate to let clerks and proprietors know why you will not accept the goods. If you wish to go further and refuse to buy goods made in various other countries, not yet behind the Iron Curtain, you have justifiable grounds. For your government is not allowing free trade to operate in both directions; and it is your tax money which, in most cases, is directly or indirectly subsidizing foreign plants and enabling them to engage in utterly destructive competition with American industry.

(8) Take our cumulative approved list of books, as published in full in the August bulletin, with you if and when you ever go browsing in old bookstores. It will be a helpful guide, and sometimes you can make some surprising finds in the most unexpected places.

(9) Read at least one book on our approved list this month, and every month. "We are an army fighting with

facts, and to be better informed is to be better armed."

(10) Check your local libraries to see if they have on hand the following books:

Montgomery: Sacco-Vanzetti (Devin-Adair)

Fitzgibbon: When The Kissing Had To Stop (Norton)

Willoughby and Chamberlain: MacArthur (McGraw-Hill)

Hayek: The Road To Serfdom (U. of Chicago Press)

Bell and Spahr: A Proper Monetary and Banking System for the United States (Ronald Press)

(11) Join your local PTA at the beginning of this school year, get your conservative friends to do likewise, and go to work to take it over. You will run into real battles, against determined leftists who have had everything their way. But it is time we went on the offensive, to make such groups the instruments of conservative purpose, with the same vigor and determination that the "liberals" have used the opposite aims. When you and your friends get your local PTA group straightened out, move up the ladder as soon as you can to exert a wider influence. And don't let the dirty tactics of the opposition get you down. Some of them are playing for much higher stakes than the casual recognition or honor that appears on the surface.

(12) While the last pages of this bulletin were being written it has been announced that Nikita Khrushchev will lead the Soviet delegation to the United Nations General Assembly session in New York, which meets on September 20. The ultimate responsibility for the disgrace of having this mass murderer again on our soil lies with the whole Eisenhower administration. But the man who has done the most to build up the pretense for gullible Americans that the United Nations can serve some useful purpose, while subtly surrendering to Soviet pressures in one situation after another -- as we carefully documented for one extremely important case in the

February, 1960 issue of American Opinion -- is Henry Cabot Lodge. And it was by virtue of Lodge's long association with the United Nations, and his appeal to the "liberals" because of the prestige thus given the United Nations, that Lodge was "tapped" for the Vice-Presidential nomination. He had nothing else to offer. And of course Lodge represented our government as Khrushchev's personal guide and host on Khrushchev's earlier visit.

Despite all of these horrible reflections, the fact remains that we have absolutely no chance of stopping this Khrushchev trip to the ever more recognizable headquarters of his international government, and to what he regards as one of the major provinces of that government in the future. But for those patriotic Americanists who would like to show him that there is plenty of fight left in this country yet, we suggest letters addressed simply to Nikita Khrushchev, United Nations, New York, to arrive about September 20, reading as follows: "Go back to your slave land -- and take your stooges with you. We may bury you, but not on American soil." Enough thousands of such messages might cause just a little hesitation in carrying out some of the pro-Communist machinations undoubtedly already planned for this General Assembly session.

General Comments

We did not specifically list recruiting for new members -- the right kind of new members -- because we want that duty to be taken for granted at all times. It is still the most important of your efforts in and for The John Birch Society -- and will remain so for a considerable time to come.

For we know how justified, important, and effective --

as Spruille Braden pointed out in his recent marvelous speech, Communism And The Caribbean -- would be the breaking off of diplomatic relations with the Communist regime in Cuba by the United States. We know how indisputable are the overwhelming justifications for such action. And we know how flimsy and Communist-aiding are the excuses for our severing diplomatic relations with the firmly anti-Communist government of the Dominican Republic instead. But we simply are not strong enough to stop and reverse that betrayal.

We know how important it would be for our government to support Premier Moise Tshombe of Katanga, the one sensible and anti-Communist government that has arisen out of the chaos and murderous strife promoted by the Kremlin's agents in Africa. We know how disastrous, and how merciless, will be the suppression of the natives of Kasai and Katanga who seek to be independent of the vile Communist regime in the Congo headed by Lumumba; and with what subtle help and full blessing of our State Department that suppression will be carried out in the name of the United Nations. But we are helpless to prevent the catastrophe.

We can make our weight felt in sudden minor forays, and can harass the enemy on many edges of the fight. But for meeting the Communist forces head on, over any major issue, we simply do not have the strength. In more down-to-earth terms, we do not yet have sufficient numbers to exert any decisive influence by letter writing campaigns to Congressmen. It takes too many pieces of mail for their weight to be effective. Which is why we aim most of our letter-writing attacks at more isolated and more easily affected targets.

With regard to our over-all action and long-range purposes and needs, therefore, our problem is clear. We must acquire those larger numbers and that greater

strength. The impact we have been able to have on several situations during the past year, when we had such a few thousand members, is almost incredible. I would not have believed it myself if I had not seen it taking place. Just for an illustration, imagine what we could have done at the Republican Convention (and during the weeks preceding it), if we had had a hundred thousand members, all as dedicated and determined as those we now have.

We are growing, rapidly. The John Birch Society is only twenty-one months old. The strength and effectiveness we have acquired in that short time is little less than a miracle. With the dedicated membership we now have on which to build, and with that much experience to guide us, our prospects are tremendously encouraging. But prospects still have to be made into realities. Our Communist enemies are visibly increasing the speed and momentum of their advance. And time is of the essence -- as we have pointed out before.

~~As we have also pointed out before, and reluctantly repeat only because this is a life-and-death struggle with no holds barred by our enemy, the two limitations on our growth are money and the necessity of building strong enough organization.~~ The contributions we have received through the envelope system have been of vital help with regard to the first, and the Monthly Messages themselves have supplied extremely important guidance with regard to the second. But there are still about twenty important states in which we do not yet have even a Coordinator or a toehold. And in many others we have as yet only scratched the surface. If we had the same number of chapters everywhere else in the country that we already have in Greater Houston or Greater Los Angeles, we could turn back the Communists tomorrow. Our job -- with all of the help you can give us -- is to get them.

A very powerful new instrument, we believe, for waking

up your complacent neighbors, which we shall soon be able to supply you, is the forthcoming 1960 Scoreboard Issue of AMERICAN OPINION -- which is now at the printers. It is a concise but thoroughgoing survey of the level of Communist influence in each of the 107 countries of the world. It exceeded our expectations as to size, will run over a hundred pages, and will sell at retail for one dollar. (But will of course be mailed in the regular way to all regular subscribers.) And we think that when you see the whole panoramic picture, even our best-informed members will find it hard to sleep well for the next few nights. What is happening, right now, is literally unbelievable. We are living today in A World Gone Crazy; and none of the values we have cherished will mean a thing in a very few more years unless a sufficient force can be created to start restoring them and rebuilding the civilization of which they are a part.

Having been in this office two days and two nights without going home (but with a few quick naps on my davenport), in order to finish this bulletin on time, I shall now wind it up without any peroration -- and with apologies for any place where the haste and pressure may show. My only remaining duty, within these pages, is a most pleasant one indeed. It is to give our honorable mention for the month to Chapter No. 145, of Stamford, Connecticut, of which Mr. Thomas J. Davis is Chapter Leader. He and his predecessor as Chapter Leader, and their members, have amply earned this too slight word of praise.

And to all of our other members, everywhere, I send a lot of praise, and thanks, and my kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch.

DANE-GELD
or
Anybody Want More Foreign Aid
For Promising Not To Go Communist?

(Our good friend, J. Howard Pew, taking one small liberty with the last stanza of one of Kipling's poems, and omitting two stanzas altogether, has sent us the following result. We must agree that it seems as timely, and relevant to the current world scene, as tomorrow's newspaper. And we only wish that the last stanza is what our government really would say -- once again!)

It is always a temptation to an armed and agile nation
To call upon a neighbor and to say:-
"We invaded you last night -- we are quite prepared
to fight,
Unless you pay us cash to go away."

It is always a temptation to a rich and lazy nation
To puff and look important and to say:-
"Though we know we should defeat you, we have not
the time to meet you.
We will therefore pay you cash to go away."

It is wrong to put temptation in the path of any nation,
For fear they should succumb and go astray;
So when you are requested to pay up or be molested,
You will find it better policy to say:-

"We shall never yield to any threat,
No matter how trifling the cost;
For the end of that game is oppression and shame,
And the nation that plays it is lost!"

Rudyard Kipling

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

INCORPORATED

From Our Mail

These messages and extracts are selected from the thousands that now pour in on us every month. Though much too flattering, they do not feed our vanity, we can assure you. Instead, they increase our solemn consciousness of the staggering responsibility we have assumed. But they do make the unceasing hard work seem all the more worth while, and strengthen our determination to live up to that responsibility so far as it is humanly possible, with God's help, to do so. We reprint these comments here in the hope that our members, and many friends and prospective members, will share with us the inspiration received from such words of

APPRECIATION and ENCOURAGEMENT

"Since the day I saw the tape, where you appeared on the screen, I have intended to write you --

"If people who see and hear you, on that tape (film), are not stirred to their very souls, to want to be a part of this great work you are doing, there must be something wrong --"

A Housewife In California

"Again, may I thank you for all that you have done and are continuing to do, not only for me, but for this wonderful country of ours -- somehow I feel that its destiny lies a great deal in your hands."

A Student At Yale

"It is indeed good to belong to an active, directed unit of a growing army in this struggle with the Communists, and we are deeply grateful for the superb quality of the strategy, direction, and dedication provided by your leadership."

A Working Mother In Wisconsin

"My wife and I have never been so inspired as by your program and by the potential of what can be accomplished through The John Birch Society."

A Business Executive In Arizona

CHARLES RICHARDSON, JR.

P. O. BOX 2052
CARMEL, CALIFORNIA
3 November 1960

Dear Mr. Welch:

History has conclusively demonstrated that the one thing which the human family is unable to overcome, is the disease and decay which inevitably result from too much materialistic luxury.

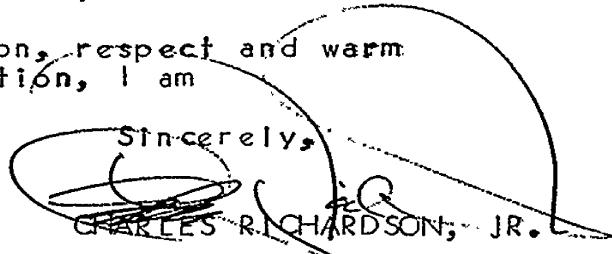
In spite of eight years of Eisenhower, with your help I have tried to maintain optimism, but the spectacle which confronts us next Tuesday is such that it seems crystal clear that we are witnessing the final stages of our beloved nation.

I am eternally grateful that it has been my personal privilege to have lived during an era which produced such courageous patriots, possessing absolute integrity, faith, terrific mental capacity and other important qualities of character, including sense of humor etc., such as you have always symbolized.

I am particularly thankful for having been privileged to have read your many superb writings, and am only sorry that it was not my additional privilege to have known you personally.

Thank you sir for the truly great and heroic battle which you have so unselfishly fought at terrific personal sacrifice, for our beloved nation. Looking at the candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency it is quite apparent that the battle you have been waging is temporarily lost, but the seeds you have sown, will bear fruit somewhere in the years that lie ahead.

With my admiration, respect and warm personal regards and appreciation, I am

Sincerely,

CHARLES RICHARDSON, JR.

Robert Welch, Esquire,
c/o The John Birch Society, Inc.,
Belmont 78, Mass.

"I pray for you very often."

A Fundamentalist Protestant In Massachusetts

"You are constantly in my prayers."

A Catholic Priest In Connecticut

" -- the John Birch Society, the best citizen-patriot program I know of to save America."

A Famous Editor In Tennessee

"Every day in every way I'm more and more convinced that our Society, with you at the helm guiding its destiny, is mankind's last great hope for survival."

A Teacher In Arkansas

"I'm certainly thankful that you introduced us to the John Birch Society. I'm in it with both feet now. I'm leading a chapter; as well as showing Communism On The Map and giving an introductory presentation to the Society to groups of people, about twice a week. We have had several successful local projects. I think this is really our one last hope."

From A Businessman In California,
To His Friend In Tennessee

"When I first joined The John Birch Society I objected to the words "traitor" and "treason" in our booklets, but now I don't believe these terms are strong enough to describe the actions of our officials in the State Department, etc. These people must be damned for the rats that they are."

From Wichita, Kansas

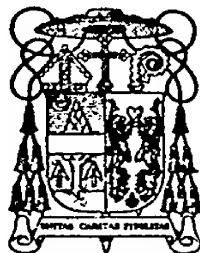
"May God bless you, Mr. Welch! A very short time ago I was too busy -- cleaning house, caring for my family, playing bridge, etc., completely oblivious to what was really happening to this wonderful country of ours, and now I'm striving hard to learn all of the things I should have been knowing for the past ten or fifteen years -- as a member of the Society. We should get down on our knees to thank God that America has such men as you -- and I do!!"

From Arcadia, California

"This is the first anti-Communist organization which to me has a definite plan of action at which everyone can work."

From Acton, Indiana

"Mr. Welch -- Please know how much this society means to me. My first and lasting impression after seeing your filmed speech was -- This is the beginning of "the road back." May God reward you for your personal sacrifice of income, time, and self. Would that each of



Diocese of Wichita
445 NORTH EMPORIA AVENUE

Wichita 2, Kansas

Diocesan Chancery

October 7, 1960

Mr. Kenneth L. Meyers
1427 North Holyoke
Wichita 8, Kansas

Dear Friend Kenneth:

Thank you very much for your gracious visit of Friday morning. I was very happy to meet with you and your good friend to discuss the important need in America at the moment--the virtue of patriotism and a renewed dedication to the sacred ideals of the United States of America.

I have read carefully your description and the purposes of The John Birch Society. The twelve principles describing the general philosophy of the Society are nothing more than the Ten Commandments of God in modern language.

I am returning your materials as promised and I enclose a small check in the amount of ten dollars (\$10) for the John Birch Society.

With every good wish, I remain

Your devoted friend,

Mark K. Carroll

Most Rev. Mark K. Carroll,
Bishop of Wichita

MKC:bh
Enc.

us could emulate your example. As a mother of five , I feel deeply that I cannot go to my grave without trying to help give this world back to God who made it. Do not feel you need make any reply to this note. "

From Bellaire, Texas

"I shall consider it a high privilege to work as a member of The John Birch Society."

"An invitation to join The John Birch Society is an answer to an earnest prayer that I might be of some service toward helping to restore good government and all the other things that this society stands for. I shall do everything required of me to be an enthusiastic and consecrated member."

Separate Messages From Husband And
Wife In Houston, Texas

"I am terribly discouraged, but the activities of The John Birch Society give me one ray of hope."

From Skaneateles, New York

"With each day that passes I am more convinced of the necessity and merit of The John Birch Society. The immensity of Mr. Welch's undertaking and his dedicated leadership is an inspiration."

From Newington, Virginia

"Since joining the John Birch Society I believe the United States will survive the Communists' threat. Before I couldn't see how in the world we could combat traitors in government schools, churches, etc. Thank God for John Birch -- I'm with you 100% and I'm getting other Americans to join."

From La Canada, California

"Thought you might like to have a copy of the personal message from me to each of the delegates to the All-American Conference Annual Meeting at Kansas City which is scheduled to take place on November 10-11-12. It is my plan to insert a copy with each of your wonderful 'A WORLD GONE CRAZY' magazines, 250 copies of which reached me in the morning's deliveries.

"It is with pleasure that I enclose my check to cover the amounts stated in the attached duplicate invoices."

From New Bedford, Massachusetts

"I have clipped out the articles in the Boston Herald about you and the work you are doing to bring us back to what I knew fifty to eighty years ago. If the John Birch Society will only continue to work for the two things: fight Communism and work for less government, more individual responsibility, and a better world, some day we can be saved. With deep respect for a fighting, old fashioned real American"

From Nashua, New Hampshire

An Error Corrected . . .

An Editors' Note

Recent controversy over the John Birch Society has resulted in a situation which the Sunflower sincerely regrets.

The situation arose from the "Inquiring Reporter" column, conducted by Jack Robbins, a Sunflower staff member, and which appeared in the Nov. 15 issue of this newspaper.

A "student" who gave his name as Thomas Goodwin, Business senior, and who was quoted as alleging that "... the anti-semitism that characterizes some of their literature, condemns the entire group," does not exist. Officials in the Registrar's Office have confirmed that no person by that name is registered here.

In fact, it is not now known whether or not a Thomas Goodwin does exist at all. But, the Sunflower published the name of the individual in good faith, particularly since he identified himself as a WU student.

In reporting student comments, the Sunflower does not determine in advance how much knowledge the various students have about the questions posed. The Sunflower, instead, strives to present at random what views any student

may hold on a particular subject and airs them in a public forum type of column.

The reporter and the Sunflower apparently were the victims either of a campus prankster or of a hoax, and in being one of the victims, the paper inadvertently reproduced in print an allegation that subsequent investigation by the reporter showed to be unfounded.

In the words of Robbins, the reporter, "As far as I now know there is nothing anti-semitic in the literature of the John Birch Society."

The Sunflower regrets that this item in its inquiring reporter column was published under the banner of a student's opinion when it was not and that the material contained in the comment is not true, according to members of the Society and according to the reporter who made further and later investigation.

Indeed, the Sunflower regrets it whenever it, or any other newspaper, inadvertently publishes an irresponsible statement of whatever nature.

The Editors

THE SUNFLOWER

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and

Intercollegiate Press



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MEMBER

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"I'm so happy to be a part of the John Birch Society, as for two months before I heard of it I was fighting in the dark -- by writing my congressmen, newspaper, etc. -- but I felt so all alone by doing so. Now I feel as though I'm hitting at the right place at the right time.

"Thank you so much for all you're doing to lead us."

From Bellaire, Texas

"It is wonderful to see that our voice is being heard. If there were not fear of us we would surely be ignored as in the past, but thanks to your organization and leadership we are finally getting through and IT'S ABOUT TIME!"

From Pasadena, California

"Keep giving it straight -- the truth will eventually penetrate, the smears and castigations mean nothing -- facts and the truth are the only important items."

From Shelburn, Indiana

"God Bless the Society. You, Mr. Welch, and all our associates are doing a magnificent job for our great Nation. I wish I could contribute a hundred, a thousand times what I do."

From West De Pere, Wisconsin

"In order to fight Communism effectively, we must be as militant for our country as they are militant for Soviet Russia. The John Birch Society is a step in the right direction and I am proud to be a member."

From New York City

"We have long wanted an organization with leadership and purpose to coordinate our efforts in behalf of America. We have just that in the John Birch Society. God Bless you for your dedication and I am proud to add my meager efforts to those who must stand or fall -- proudly -- in this 'give us liberty or give us death' battle."

From Unionville, Connecticut

"Keep up the good work. My prayers are with you."

(And A Contribution Too) From Dallas, Texas

"I endorse your policy of speaking forthrightly and firmly without engaging in euphemisms. We are dealing with an enemy who lacks any ethical sensitivity. We are at war with him, not might be or will be. We have to use war tactics."

From St. Augustine, Florida

"Being a new member I have no comments other than to wish that the John Birch Society had started much sooner. We have needed something of this kind for a long time. I would say it is the duty of

THE NATIONAL PROGRAM letter

A Monthly Letter
of thought and opinion
about America's problems...

TO STRENGTHEN
AND SAFEGUARD
the HERITAGE OF
AMERICAN
FREEDOM

PROTECTING OUR FREEDOM

Many Americans who have been watching the relentless expansion of Communist power throughout the world are gravely concerned for the future of our nation — and mankind's freedom. They are aware that in 40 years of extraordinary success the Communists have already achieved most of Lenin's blueprint for conquest, which has been summarized and paraphrased as follows: "First, we will take eastern Europe; next, the masses of Asia; then we shall encircle that last bastion of capitalism, the United States of America. We shall not have to attack; it will fall like an overripe fruit into our hands."

With infiltration, control of propaganda outlets, and cunning political maneuvering — while our nation looked on with only mild interest — the Communists gobbled up eastern Europe; then most of the masses of Asia, including China's 500 million. And now we witness Cuba, 90 miles from Florida, being converted into a Communist stronghold, the base for widespread Latin American activities. Thus Lenin's blueprint for expansion, no matter how fantastic it may have sounded through the years, has become a reality. The U. S. A. is encircled, and within our borders the Communists are undermining our will to resist.

Freedom Isn't Free

A few million alerted Americans have watched this step by step expansion of Communism and have worried about it. A small percentage of them have become actively engaged in some kind of citizenship work to alert and arouse the remainder of our population to the very real danger. But most Americans still know very little about the nature of Communism, its tactics and strategy. It's something unpleasant to think about and they hope and trust it will soon go away. Moreover, they pay scant attention to the source of their freedom. They take freedom for granted, as something that will continue forever without any effort on their part.

Last week a group of 12 people met one evening in the town of Searcy, Arkansas, population 8,000. In the group was a business man, a college professor, a school executive, the vice-president of a corporation, a preacher, the wife of an industrialist, two women office workers, a college student, a housewife. . . . people drawn from various walks of life. They were meeting to plan a month's work on behalf of their nation. They are dedicated to the cause of freedom. They know that freedom isn't free. They are making personal sacrifices in work to pay for freedom — for themselves and for their children.

The John Birch Society

At the meeting a film on Communism was screened. A book review was given. The group's circulating library was discussed. Prospective recruits were listed. Each member of the group reported on his activities for February. Each had written a number of letters — to government leaders in Washington, pointing out, respectfully, things that might be done to strengthen our nation; to government leaders, complimenting an action; to the head of a nationwide organization, supporting a recent statement; to a corporation executive, making a suggestion; and so on. The meeting lasted nearly three hours. No one was in a hurry to get home. The month's work schedule ahead was discussed. A zeal in purpose and accomplishment manifested itself throughout the group.

This was the regular monthly meeting of The John Birch Society in Searcy. Across the nation, hundreds of similar small groups were meeting. The John Birch Society has one simple long-range purpose: to work for less government, more responsibility, and a better world. One of its shortrange objectives is to become a citizen force capable of defeating the aims of Communism. In its first year of existence, without publicity or organized promotion, its growth has been remarkable — and heartening. Any American who loves freedom and is willing to work, work, work to protect it can find intelligent direction and companionship in a John Birch Society group.

It is a unique movement. Its founder is Robert Welch, nationally-known Massachusetts industrialist. Fifteen months ago, having already given up his business responsibilities to devote his full time to the movement, he invited eleven prominent American leaders to a meeting in Indianapolis. For two days he presented the shocking facts-of-life in our world today. Then he outlined the plan for the movement he was founding. His goal, he told them, was a working John Birch group in every American community. Only people, dedicated and working at the task could protect freedom and its blessings. He asked for their moral, financial, and physical support. Whether he got it or not, he told the 11 prominent Americans, he was going forward with his plan. He got their immediate and enthusiastic support. Today The John Birch Society chapters are active in 20 states and are being formed in all 50. The movement may be contacted by writing The John Birch Society, Belmont 78, Massachusetts.

every true American to join and support to the best of one's ability
the work of this group."

From Pasadena, California

"Thank you for your tireless and selfless devotion! I pray we
will give added support great enough to work a miracle."

From Memphis, Tennessee

"The John Birch Society is precisely what I have been looking
for. Thanks, Mr. Welch, and your associates."

From Dallas, Texas

"I'm a new member of this society and feel that much good can
be accomplished by the united effort of us all."

From Grenada, Mississippi

"I was pleased to hear of Jack Mabley's and the Milwaukee pa-
per's attack on the Society. We know Mabley His attack
shows that we are making progress -- they only fight back when they
are getting hurt."

From Lake Bluff, Illinois

"God Bless you in your magnificent determination to do a job of
saving America for Americans."

From Grants Pass, Oregon

"Apparently, you've had some carping -- so may we here do
some cheering! Hats off to all of you dedicated patriots and the truly
marvelous job you are doing. We're quite proud to be 'John Birchers'
-- think we're in mighty good company."

From Bellaire, Texas

"Don't acknowledge this as I have no comments except words of
encouragement and one buck. Only hope I can contribute more of both
in the future."

From Los Angeles, California

"I have no comments except that it is enlightening to know how
fast the society is growing. Slowly here in Lubbock we will grow. It
is great to be able to read material that is fact -- such as AMERI-
CAN OPINION and the bulletin, rather than the newspapers."

From Lubbock, Texas

"As a new member, I would like to express my appreciation to
you, for what you are doing for our country. I am proud to be a part
of the John Birch Society, and will do all in my power to help make
our Society a living thing. There isn't a chapter here in our area yet,
but hope to have one soon. Have some interested people and have

Patriots May Become 'Conspirators'

"Unless the trend of taking over the government by the international Communist conspiracy can be stopped, the day may not be far off when patriots will be called 'conspirators' against their own government.

"It has happened in every captive nation now in the clutches of Communists, including the Republic of Cuba.

"It can happen even here in the United States."

Such were the frightening prospects that prompted a Massachusetts industrialist to relinquish his business and dedicate himself to doing something about fighting Communism.

Widely known among the higher brackets of the business world, Robert Welch was almost unknown outside these circles less than three years ago.

Today, as editor of the much-quoted magazine, American Opinion, and organizer of the John Birch Society, he is becoming a familiar figure to tens of thousands.

Thumbnail Biography

Well-educated and world-traveled, the 61-year-old Bostonian closely observed the Socialist movement in England and the menacing growth of Communism everywhere.

In January, 1957, Welch gave up most of his business responsibilities, and most of his income, to devote practically his entire time and energy to the anti-Communist cause.

The basis of his conviction is the belief that the only thing Communists fear is having the truth about the methods and progress of their international conspiracy made known to the American people, who for the most part appeared to be complacent and indifferent.

Through the printed and spoken word he resolved to proclaim the facts about events, public personalities and issues, fearlessly and without reservation.

The time had come, he thought, to speak out.

Implementation

His objective was not to indoctrinate, but to present facts, to interpret them and to demonstrate their significance.

He had confidence in the ability of the American people to draw their own conclusions, once the facts had been made available to them.

The Tidings (Los Angeles)
September 30, 1960

First, he developed the outspoken American Opinion, now in its third volume, to publish the findings of his research staff of experts and present the chronology of events as it applied to the Communist conspiracy.

Robert Welch himself, author of three books, contributed his hard-hitting "If You Want It Straight . . ." section, in which he pulled no punches.

These eye-opening revelations caught on fast, but readers were not enough. He wanted them to talk about what they read and to read extensively the right kind of books.

With this thought in mind, he organized the John Birch Society one month before Fidel Castro made his grand entry into Havana and took over the government of Cuba.

Meaning of the Name

Operating largely through local chapters, usually consisting of 10 to 20 members each, the society with headquarters at Belmont 78, Mass., is an association of Americans who have voluntarily joined together to discuss problems of national importance.

John Birch, a Christian missionary in China at the beginning of World War II, organized Gen. Chennault's intelligence service, rose to the rank of Captain in the U. S. Army, served with distinction, and 10 days after V-J day, while in uniform, on a peaceful mission for his government, was brutally murdered by Chinese Communists.

Few people recognized the name, because the Communists had planned it that way. It required five years of persistent effort by his parents, aided by Sen. William F. Knowland and other patriots, to pierce the blanket of oblivion brazenly obscuring the facts thrown over the affair by Red sympathizers in our government.

As the Saturday Evening Post pointed out in a lengthy editorial, Jan. 22, 1955: "Amazingly, there were in Washington responsible officials who were willing to suppress news of the murder of an American officer, apparently to prevent the American people from rising in their wrath and vetoing further appeasement of Communism."

So much for the biography of John Birch.

The objectives of the incorporated society make John Birch an appropriate symbol, the founder contends,

by George N. Kramer, Ph.D.

"John Birch was killed by typical Communist tactics, as a part of typical Communist strategy, in a typical Communist style war—a continuous undeclared war in which our enemies observe no rules of international law, of civilization, or of human decency," he explained.

"With his death and in his death the battle lines were drawn, in a struggle from which either Communism or Christian-style civilization must emerge with one completely triumphant and the other completely destroyed."

As presented in the society's Blue Book, the following objectives characterize the organization:

- To outline the nature and the frightening advance of the threats against our nation, our religion, and our civilization.
- To evaluate these dangers, and place them in their proper perspective, against the backdrop of world history and the rise of western civilization.
- To set forth a positive philosophy and program to which men of good will, religious ideals, and humane traditions may rally with confidence and determination.
- To offer leadership which can make the dedication of such men and women more constructive and more fruitful.

Patriots, Not 'Conspirators'

The society's literature points out that merely being patriotic or anti-Communist is not a sufficient qualification for membership. Good will, good conscience and religious ideals are also required.

"The conspiracy which endangers us today is tremendously more extensive and more expertly organized than was the Spartan apparatus which took over the Greek world by treachery and deceit," it states.

"The truly patriotic citizens of this country outnumber all the Communists and their agents and sympathizers and willing dupes in our midst, combined, by at least 10 to one.

"Our problem is: organization, direction, dedication."

There it is, plain-spoken. Unless the American patriot is willing to die for his country, he should be willing to work for it now. After all, it is much easier to live for one's country than to die for it.

And, of course, it is far easier to work as a patriot while there is yet time, than later to go underground as a 'conspirator' against a Red regime.—G.N.K.

shown the 'Movie' twice. God bless you."

From South San Gabriel, California

"I have only been a member of the Society for a few months, but I feel proud to be associated with such a fine group. I have a proud feeling in my heart. for everyone who is helping our country to survive, at this crucial time."

From Portsmouth, New Hampshire

"I thank you for the John Birch Society and would like to commend you on every firm stand taken."

From Tacoma, Washington

"We both appreciate very much the John Birch Society and all you are doing for the good of our wonderful country. We are thankful for this Society as we feel that we are really doing something worthwhile when we carry out your instructions. We wish to commend you for the fine publication American Opinion. We always read it from cover to cover and glean information that we find no other place."

Also From Tacoma, Washington

"This is the first time I have participated in the John Birch Society as an active member. It has given me a great deal of satisfaction to be able to do something. I have done a good deal of reading and exchanging views, attending meetings, etc., but never felt I was accomplishing anything. Even when I wrote my congressmen I didn't know if it would do any good. I had a forlorn feeling. Now I realize that many people concentrating on a given subject can do wonders. This is exactly as it should be. If at any time, however, I feel I can't go along with your views and thinking I reserve the right to refrain from writing or acting but will give you notice of my disagreement. Thank you for giving me a goal for which to work."

From Stevensville, Montana

"No improvement in the John Birch Society is needed at the top unless it were that its founder doesn't knock himself out. The enthusiasm at the lowest level is the fire under the effort."

From Pasadena, California

"Little did I know years ago when I heard John Birch preach that I would some day be a member of a patriotic organization named for him. I am so happy to be a new John Birch member."

From Fort Worth, Texas

"Every time I hear Mr. Welch speak, I appreciate even more the values of Qualified Leadership, and I realize that it is the lack of such leadership that has stopped other anti-communist groups from becoming effective."

From Milwaukee, Wisconsin

W.D. Workman

The John Birch Society



Communism has few admitted friends in America. But none of its enemies are more dogged, determined, or downright hostile than are the members of the John Birch Society.

That band of dedicated anti-Communists still is relatively small in numbers, but it makes up in intensity for what it lacks in size. And its size is growing steadily, as more and more Americans become aware of its existence and its purpose.

Back of the John Birch Society is an uncompromising businessman named Robert Welch, who seems to live on equal parts of nervous energy, hatred of Communism, and distrust both of the United Nations and of almost every agency of the United States government. It was he who founded the Society, who named it, and who gives it the chief impetus and character.

In this day of organizations gone to seed, the John Birch Society stands apart in bold relief. It is authoritarian, and insists upon a disciplined following. It brooks no wrangling or haggling over Society policies or procedures. And it is as quick to invite members out of the organization as in, if it appears that its cause might suffer by their presence.

The cause is everything, and it is a cause of both breadth and depth. The primary objective is to halt the spread of Communism in this country. For Robert Welch contends with fervor that "Incredible" inroads already have been made into the nation's legislative halls, governmental agencies, labor unions, schools,

churches, and society in general. Beyond that is the goal of strengthening the hands of anti-Communists abroad, so that the Communist conspiracy may be halted everywhere.

Along with these well-defined goals is the more intangible objective of combatting collectivism in the interests of achieving "less government, more responsibility, and a better world."

In its steadfast drive toward these related goals, the John Birch Society demands of its members both sacrifice and dedication. Welch puts it in these words:

"We need disciplined pullers at the oars; not passengers in the boat . . . We do not ask that you give the John Birch Society the whole of your lives, for you might as well be taken over by Communism if that be the case . . . but we do expect more work and sacrifice in this society than will be asked of you in any other organization."

Welch makes his personal bid for support in a grueling, two-day talkathon, in which he paints a grim picture of Communist successes throughout the world, and holds out the John Birch Society as "the last best hope of saving our civilization." He and the handful of "coordinators" who help him spread the message tell their carefully selected prospects:

"It is the only alternative. Either you come into the John Birch Society and give it your best, or else you will be devoting all of your time to serving a Communist slave state."

Those who do join the society are called upon to keep abreast of both Communist and anti-Communist developments here and abroad, to spread knowledge of such developments among their neighbors, to support and sustain anti-Communists who are fighting actively in

This clipping is from the Stamford Advocate, of Stamford, Connecticut. The same article appeared on November 28, 1960 in the many papers throughout the country carrying the syndicated column of W. D. Workman. Mr. Workman, who lives in Columbia, S.C., is author of the excellent book, The Case For The South, published by Devin-Adair.

governmental and other circles, and in general to "start shocking the American people into a realization of how far Communism has crept into this country."

Welch and his associates admittedly are bearers of ill tidings, but they make no effort to conceal their concern and their distress over the apathy of Americans generally. Their optimism, when it does show through, is couched in statements such as this:

"We do not have to lose this fight at all. There is enough strength in America to stop Communism if we can stir it to action. Our danger is immense and imminent, but all it takes to win is to build understanding."

That effort to make Americans comprehend is centered in Belmont, Mass., where the North Carolina-born Welch maintains headquarters for the John Birch Society. The Society's name stems from a young Christian missionary, a native of Georgia, who joined the United States forces in China at the outbreak of World War II. Welch tells of Birch's life and death in a little book, saying that his brutal murder in cold blood by Chinese Communists made him "probably the first American casualty" in a third World War between the Communists and the "ever-shrinking free world."

"As a new member I believe this to be an excellent program.
It places both criticism and praise where needed."

From Port Salerno, Florida

"Sir, I'm most delighted and excited to be a new member of such a great crusade. Although I don't believe I'll agree with you on all issues, we both hold our goals the same and look to the future for better government --

"I'm with you all the way."

From Dickinson, Texas

"Your writings and your wonderful example should be an inspiration to all decent Americans. They have shaken me from my lethargy and made me try to do my part."

From Alexandria, Virginia

"Your Blue Book sold me on your wonderful society. It's the greatest book I've ever read. I only wish every American could read it."

From Peoria, Illinois

"Never knew letter writing could be so much fun. It really helps to have facts and figures to go on. You certainly are doing a grand job."

From Shelby, North Carolina

"I am very proud to be associated with you. In this perilous time every American should do all in his power to live up to our Constitution Being a member has most certainly enlightened me to many things -- things that I was unaware of before."

From Milwaukee, Wisconsin

"Thanks so much for showing us a way in which we may do our best to help. The enclosed five dollars isn't much but I will try to help when I can. Six children require a lot of food and clothes. We are trying to cut expenses every way possible."

From Beaumont, Texas

"I have not the slightest doubt that the total war against the communist conspiracy cannot be won without total understanding of the problems involved, nor without discipline and direction. All these qualities have been lacking so far.

"The John Birch Society under your leadership is the only movement that can give form and direction to the efforts of the many thousands who are already aware of the danger we are facing."

From Beaufort, South Carolina

AMARILLO SUNDAY NEWS-GLOBE

Page 26

Amarillo, Texas, Sunday Morning, August 7, 1960

A Most Amazing Organization Leaves Members Latitude Of Individuality

John Birch is named by many as the first American casualty of the Cold War between Communists and the ever-shrinking "Free World."

Birch was a Christian missionary, born on a farm near Macon, Georgia, who was in China when the United States entered World War II. On July 4, 1942, he officially joined General Chennault's intelligence service, rose to rank of Captain in the U. S. Army, and served with bravery and brilliance throughout the war.

Ten days after V-J Day, while in uniform on a special peaceful and official mission for the U. S. government, John Birch was brutally murdered in cold blood by so-called U. S. "allies," the Chinese Communists.

As one of the members of the John Birch Society says, "You probably never heard of John Birch. This is simply because the Communists in Washington planned it that way. It took five years of determined effort... to pierce the blanket of oblivion which had been so brazenly thrown over his life, and death by Communist sympathizers in our government. As THE SATURDAY EVENING POST pointed out in an editorial on January 22, 1955, 'Amazingly, there were in Washington responsible officials who were willing to suppress news of the murder of an American officer, appar-

ently to prevent the American people from rising in their wrath and vetoing further appeasement of communism.'

In 1958, the John Birch Society was formed of Americans who as *individuals*, not representatives of organizations, want to fight in hometown councils to "wake up the American people to the serious cancer of the pro-Communist activities of Communist sympathizers."

That many of those individuals are men who are nationally known — T. Coleman Andrews, former Commissioner of Internal Revenue; Tom Anderson, editor of FARM AND RANCH; Spruille Braden, former U.S. ambassador to several countries; Adolphe Menjou, screen actor who has been in the forefront of patriotic movements in recent years; Dean Clarence Manion, former dean of Notre Dame Law School—does not eliminate the individual character of the Council membership.

It is this note that makes one of the recent bulletins of the John Birch Society fascinating — since it underlines that which keeps so many organizations from attracting widespread membership. We commend the reading of the following paragraphs to any person who is seeking, as the Society does, "less government, more responsibility, and a better world."

"So we welcome into the Society A who disagrees with B's ideas of how to fight the Communists, and B who dislikes A, and C, who looks scornfully at them both; and D who is too rabid, and E who is too restrained, and F who can stand nobody except those who land on what he considers middle ground; and G who wants to get his gun and come out shooting (if we would only say the word), and H who wants to win the whole struggle solely by educational means, and J who thinks that militant animosity and slow educational procedures must both be subordinated to practical political action; and K, who thinks that L is too uncouth, and L who thinks that K is a stuffed shirt, and M who can't tell the difference between them; and N who thinks that every third member of the Society is a Communist infiltrator, and O who thinks any expectation of Communist infiltration is exaggerated and ridiculous, and P who thinks it doesn't matter; and Q who thinks that R is a hound for personal publicity, and R who thinks that Q is a nonentity, and S who is sure that neither is a credit to the Society; and T who thinks that V is too bossy and V who thinks that T is too mousy, and parliamentary W who thinks that even lunch should be eaten according to Roberts' Rules of Order; and X who thinks that Y is too much of a sinner, and Y who thinks that X is too much of a saint, and Z who wants to spend too much of his time worrying about somebody else's religion instead of his own.

"You will note, gentle reader, that U and I were left out of the above list. That is because U, of course, are guilty of none of these distracting or disturbing attitudes; and because I, with so much of the responsibility for the ultimate effectiveness of The John Birch Society, must—within the limits of honor and of safety—be tolerant of them all.

"We do not even want to discourage complaints, for out of a bushel of overdrawn fears and prejudices and accusations we are bound to find now and then the grains of truthful warning which we need. We may be slower to move than is liked by some who make charges or air their suspicions. While we are sure that other members will consider us too drastic in the use of our rights of expulsion, if and when we do become convinced that charges are justified. But we shall do our utmost to get members of The John Birch Society, from A to Z, to work together for the purposes of the Society, regardless of how, on the outside, they may feel about each other.

"We shall insist on loyalty to the Society while any person is a member, without concerning ourselves as to what that person says about the Society, or about your Founder, after he or she resigns from membership. We have and want, absolutely no control over or responsibility for the actions of anybody, except as a member of The John Birch Society, and then only with the frequently confirmed understanding that the same anybody is free to resign from the Society at any time."

From The May 17, 1960 Issue Of
CHRISTIAN ECONOMICS

John Birch was a Baptist missionary to China and later became a U. S. Army intelligence officer in the war against Japan. As a Christian and one ardently devoted to freedom and the principles of self-government he was feared by the Communists and finally brutally murdered.

In his memory, Robert Welch, a nationally-known Massachusetts industrialist, organized The John Birch Society for the purpose of furthering the concepts of John Birch, defeating the aims of communism, promoting the principles of constitutional government and advancing the cause of freedom.

Many chapters of the Society have been organized throughout the country, and those desiring more information about this movement should write to The John Birch Society, Belmont 78, Massachusetts.

THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC

THE STATE'S GREATEST NEWSPAPER

Page 6

Friday, December 16, 1960

Where The Spirit Of The Lord Is, There Is Liberty
II Corinthians 3: 17

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*Behold, happy is the man whom God correcteth:
therefore despise not thou the chastening of the
Almighty.—Job 5:17.*

Freedom's Missionaries

In the past, communism has had few effective, dedicated opponents. Thankfully, that deficiency is now being remedied by an anti-Communist movement—comprised of thousands of dedicated Americans from every walk of life—springing up all across the United States. The movement is known as the John Birch Society, and its sole purpose is to turn back the Communist tidal wave threatening to engulf the world.

What distinguishes The John Birch Society from anti-Communist groups of the past is that this organization knows exactly what it wants to accomplish, and it is determined to let nothing stand in its way of accomplishing it. It is not beset by petty internal squabbling over methods and procedures, but, rather, possesses boundless energy, unusual dedication and skillful leadership.

The founder of The John Birch Society is Robert Welch, a dynamic intellectual who rose from humble beginnings on a North Carolina farm to become one of the nation's outstanding business men and one of its most serious scholars. In 1958 he abandoned his business career completely, determined to devote his life to fighting the Red threat. With little money and with only a handful of supporters initially, Robert Welch has since fashioned The John Birch Society—named for a Baptist missionary who was brutally murdered by the Chinese Communists, 10

days after the end of World War II—into a vibrant, effective organization which is growing by leaps and bounds, despite a systematic, concerted smear campaign by leftists and fellow travelers.

The two principal characteristics of the society are the dedication of its members (both Democrats and Republicans, representing all religious denominations), who are made to study communism, and the caliber of its leadership, which includes high school and college instructors, top ranking military officers, and important business executives. Believing, as did Jefferson, that resistance to tyranny is obedience to God, each member has dedicated himself to the important task of awakening an apathetic public which has been lulled to sleep by the soporifics of the left.

The reason for The John Birch Society is epitomized in the words of Chesterton:

“Yea, for one great hour’s triumph,
not in me

Nor any hope of mine did I rejoice,
But in a meadow game of girls
and boys

Some sunset in the centuries to be.”

Nowhere, in any nation where the Communists have come to power, are their meadow games of girls and boys. Instead, the serenity of childhood has been replaced with forced labor camps, political indoctrination schools, and the systematic destruction of family life. By opposing communism, the society hopes to prevent the same from occurring in America.

The uninformed will doubtless scoff at the purposes of The John Birch Society, just as the uninformed always scoff at whatever they are ignorant of. But neither their calumnies, nor the deliberate slanders of influential fellow travelers, should deter this movement from its noble goal. We wish it every success in its mission.

WILLIAM C. MULLENDORE
EDISON BUILDING
LOS ANGELES

January 31, 1961

Mr. Robert Welch
The John Birch Society, Inc.
Belmont 78, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Welch:

I would like to add my own to the many expressions of appreciation which you are receiving for your fine leadership in the fight against the communist conspiracy. The John Birch Society is deserving of the encouragement and support of all who are concerned about the great inroads which communism is making in our country and throughout the world.

In some instances you have had to say some harsh things about some policies and acts of friends of mine which went farther than I would be willing to go. I feel sure, for example, that Chris Herter is a patriotic and able man and that reflections upon his honor, integrity and patriotism are not justified. Yet I agree with you that some of his statements and policies as Secretary of State did not do justice to his good intentions.

You have my moral support, admiration and best wishes.

Sincerely,

WC Mullendore

WCM:md

T. COLEMAN ANDREWS
6 IRIS LANE
RICHMOND 26, VIRGINIA

April 20, 1960

Mr. C. M. Crawford, Leader
Wilshire Chapter #89
The John Birch Society
3434 West 6th Street
Los Angeles 5, California

Dear Mr. Crawford:

I am happy to have an opportunity to tell you something about Bob Welch. Bob is, as you know, the editor and publisher of AMERICAN OPINION, which enjoys the reputation of being one of the country's leading publications dedicated to the cause of conservatism.

Bob is without doubt one of the most patriotic men I have ever known, and one of the hardest working for the cause to which he has now come to devote all of his time, to the complete exclusion of his private interests. He is convinced that a Communist conspiracy to impose socialist dictatorship upon the world has been in existence for years and is increasing in intensity and tempo, and in his voluminous writing and speaking has adduced enough evidence in support of his conviction to convince anyone who is willing to take the time to read or listen.

The John Birch Society is one of Bob's brain children and its symbol is the life story of John Birch, a God-fearing patriot who, after a long period of behind-the-lines operations in China, was brutally and cold-bloodedly murdered by the Chinese Communists, who were supposed to be our friends, while on a peaceful mission ten days after the war with Japan ended.

I think that the measure of Bob Welch can be best seen by a scanning of the list of outstanding Americans -- from which I exclude myself, of course -- who Bob has assembled around him as The Council of The John Birch Society.

The Communists have gone far toward taking us without firing a shot, and I have heard several of the country's outstanding men say very frankly that The John Birch Society appears to be the only hope of stemming the tide of infiltration from the East.

Sincerely,



T. Coleman Andrews

SPRUILLE BRADEN
320 EAST 72ND STREET

NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK

REGENT 7-9058

April 19, 1960

Dear Mr. Crawford:

In reply to your April 13 letter, I have known Mr. Robert Welch for a number of years, first in the National Association of Manufacturers Foreign Relations Committee, and at meetings of that organization. Subsequently, I came to admire the splendid and patriotic job he was doing in the publication of AMERICAN OPINION. Without ever making any inquiry as to his antecedents, I came to know more or less automatically that he was a highly regarded and successful manufacturer. I have a natural fellow feeling for him because of his alarm as to the state of our nation and the courage which he demonstrated through AMERICAN OPINION and otherwise in fighting the malignant influences of collectivism and communism.

Shortly after he formed the John Birch Society and I spent an entire day listening to him, I decided that at long last here was the one organization which could make the fight effectively against these disrupting influences in our country. I had for long felt that while many different patriotic organizations attacking these problems from various angles were to the good, that to become really effective, there must be one central properly organized group, with competent leadership. In the John Birch Society I found the organization, and in Bob Welch the leadership.

I trust that the foregoing covers the questions you had in mind.

With all best wishes,

Faithfully and cordially yours,

Spruille Braden

Mr. C. M. Crawford
Dominguez Estate Company
3434 W. 6th St.
Los Angeles 5, California



CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE
2101 COMMONWEALTH AVENUE
BRIGHTON 35, MASSACHUSETTS

April 28, 1960

Dear Mr. Crawford:

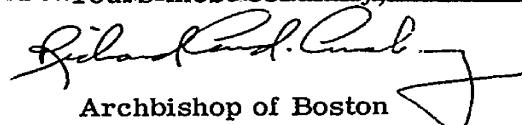
Replying to your recent letter, I beg to advise you that I do not know of any more dedicated anti-communist in the country than Robert Welch.

I unhesitatingly recommend him to you and endorse his John Birch Society.

Under separate cover I am sending you some literature that may be of interest to you.

With all good wishes, I am

Yours most cordially,


Richard J. Cushing
Archbishop of Boston

Mr. C. M. Crawford
Dominguez Estate Co.
3434 West Sixth Street
Los Angeles 5, California

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY was founded, in Indianapolis, on December 9, 1958.

Its founder and present head is Robert Welch, of whom biographical notes are given at Page 28 of this brochure.

Its top governing body, under the Founder, is the COUNCIL, which was formed in December, 1959 and held its first meeting in Chicago, on January 9, 1960. The men constituting the COUNCIL are listed and identified on Pages 29 and 30.

The Society operates largely through local chapters, usually of between ten and twenty members each. Merely being patriotic or anti-Communist is not a sufficient qualification for membership. Because of our basic objectives (which will be more fully explained further along), we must have associated with us, now and in the future, only men and women of good will, good conscience, and religious ideals. For we shall strive to set an example, by dedication, integrity, and purpose -- in word and deed -- which our children's children may follow without hesitation.

As of the day this is written (January 31, 1961), we still have not begun any organizing effort in the following states: Alabama, Alaska, Colorado, Delaware, Idaho, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, and Vermont. But we already have from one chapter to more than a hundred chapters in each of the other thirty-four states, and in the District of Columbia.

We also have a Home Chapter, which maintains contact with its members only by mail. There are now

members of this Home Chapter in every state, and the roll includes several hundred of the most influential men and women in our country. Also, many of our new members first come into the Society as members of the Home Chapter, and are then transferred into local chapters which they themselves help to form, or which are formed by others in their community.

For taking the lead in establishing chapters, and for the supervision and guidance needed to keep them functioning most effectively, we have salaried staff men, called Coordinators. We also have, in many areas, men and women with other jobs who devote large parts of their time and energy to serving The John Birch Society as Volunteer Coordinators. The Society is now represented by such Coordinators and Volunteer Coordinators in about thirty states. We shall appoint Coordinators in the other states, and increase their number in the areas which are at present too thinly covered, as fast as our growth and resources will permit.

We now have several Major Coordinators, supervising the activities of Coordinators and Volunteer Coordinators. We shall add further Major Coordinators, and otherwise increase our organizational strength, from the bottom up, as rapidly as we can afford it and to whatever extent it seems wise to do so. Neither the list of our members, of either local chapters or the Home Chapter, nor their number, is ever given out to anybody. But during the twenty-six months since The John Birch Society was founded its growth has been sure and solid. We expect that growth to continue, with increasing speed and momentum, until we have the million members -- of fervent patriotism and unassailable character -- which is our goal.

* * *

DUES SCHEDULE

Life membership in the Home Chapter,
(which automatically covers member-
ship in any local chapter), for men or
women \$1,000.00
(This may be paid in two consecutive
annual installments of \$500.00 each.)

Regular annual membership in the
Home Chapter For men \$24.00
 For women 12.00

Membership in a local chapter, mini-
mum per year: For men \$24.00
 For women. 12.00

(This may be paid as \$2.00 per month
for men, and \$1.00 per month for wom-
en, to the local Chapter Leader.)

If any member wishes to pay larger dues,
to support the Society's work (or to make
contributions for that purpose), such
dues or contributions may also be split
into monthly installments if desired.

(Applications for membership in local chapters
should be approved by the Chapter Leader. Appli-
cations for membership in the Home Chapter will
be approved by the home office.)

Application For Membership

, 19

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY
Belmont 78, Massachusetts

Gentlemen:

This is my application for membership in the _____ Chapter of THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY, for one year from this date, and for automatic renewal each year thereafter, unless I resign in writing. I understand the dues schedule printed on the back of this sheet, as applicable to myself.

If my application is accepted, I agree that my membership may be revoked at anytime, by a duly appointed officer of the Society, without the reason being stated, on refund of the pro rata part of my dues paid in advance.

Sincerely,

(Name) _____

(Address) _____

Date _____

Application Approved
By _____

Dues Received _____

Title _____

NOTICE

One copy of this brochure is being supplied free to every member of the Society. And we shall also make a certain additional amount of free distribution of the brochure from the Home Office.

But since we simply cannot afford the cost of the quantities that we know will be requested, we are obliged to make a charge for all copies except those indicated in the first paragraph above. We are, however, for obvious reasons keeping this charge just as close to the actual printing cost as we dare.

This is to advise all concerned, therefore, that the price of *The New Brochure* is ten cents per copy, in quantities of any size, large or small. Minimum shipment is ten copies for one dollar. Simply address:

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY
BELMONT 78, MASSACHUSETTS

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY is named in honor of one of the greatest young men that America has produced.

John Birch was a Christian missionary, from a farm near Macon, Georgia, who was in China when we entered World War II. His heroism, accomplishments, and nobility of character were to make of him a legend which the Communists could not allow to live.

On July 4, 1942, John Birch officially joined General Chennault's forces in Chungking as a volunteer. He organized Chennault's intelligence service, rose to the rank of Captain in the United States Army, and served with unsurpassable bravery and brilliance throughout the war. He was frequently referred to, by both his associates and superiors, as the most important man in our forces struggling against the Japanese in China.

Ten days after V - J day, while in uniform, on a peaceful and official mission for our government, John Birch was brutally murdered in cold blood by our "allies," the Chinese Communists. This was on August 25, 1945. He thus became probably the first American casualty in that third World War, between the Communists and the ever-shrinking "free world," which is still being waged against us fifteen years later; a relentless war of which there is no end in sight.

You have probably never heard of John Birch. This is simply because the Communists in Washington planned it that way. It took five years of persistent and determined effort on the part of his parents, aided by Senator Knowland and many other good patriots, to pierce the blanket of oblivion which had been so brazenly thrown over his life and death by Communist sympathizers in our government. As the Saturday Evening Post pointed out, in a long edi-

torial on January 22, 1955, based on The Life Of John Birch by this writer; "Amazingly, there were in Washington responsible officials who were willing to suppress news of the murder of an American officer, apparently to prevent the American people from rising in their wrath and vetoing further appeasement of communism."

John Birch was killed by typical Communist tactics, as a part of typical Communist strategy, in a typical Communist-style war -- a continuous undeclared war in which our enemies observe no rules of international law, of civilization, or of human decency. He commanded no armies, headed no government, converted no nations to his creed. His impact would have been of transient memory and comparatively small importance, had not that impact occurred at a time and in a way to supply particulars from which momentous generalizations can properly be projected. With his death and in his death the battle lines were drawn, in a struggle from which either Communism or Christian-style civilization must emerge with one completely triumphant and the other completely destroyed.

Partly for these reasons, but even more because John Birch -- in all of his short but outstanding career -- so typified the best of America, we have named our organization in his memory. If we rediscover some of our sounder spiritual values in the example of his life, recharge our determination from the spark of his courage, and learn essential truths about our enemy from the lesson of his murder, then his death at twenty-six ceases to be a tragedy. For in a full lifetime he could not have accomplished more.

* * *

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY is a group of Americans who have voluntarily joined together:

- (1) To combat more effectively the evil forces which now threaten our country, our lives, and our civilization.
- (2) To prevail upon our fellow citizens to start pulling out of the deepening morass of collectivism, and then climb up the mountain to higher levels of individual freedom and responsibility than man has ever achieved before.
- (3) To restore, with brighter lustre and deeper conviction, the faith-inspired morality, the spiritual sense of values, and the ennobling aspirations, on which our western civilization has been built. The long-range objective of the Society has been summarized as less government, more responsibility, and a better world.

We are digging far more deeply into the problems we face, however, and building far more solidly in our coordinated effort to overcome the destructive forces around us, than can be indicated by the brief outline of our purposes given above. A more complete presentation of the background, methods, and purposes of The John Birch Society has now been given to selected small groups of leaders in different parts of the country, in full two-day meetings, more than twenty times since the Society was founded.

This presentation is available in tape form, wherever we have Coordinators to play back the tape recordings. There are now films available, of a part of the presentation, in some areas. But the most readily accessible form of the full presentation is in the Blue

Book of The John Birch Society, which we brought out quietly by ourselves a few months ago because we have not wanted the publicity of commercial publication.

In this presentation we have attempted: (1) To outline the nature and the frightening advance of the threats against our nation, our religion, and our civilization; (2) to evaluate these dangers, and place them in their proper perspective, against the backdrop of world history and the rise of western civilization; (3) to set forth a positive philosophy and program to which men of good will, religious ideals, and humane traditions may rally with confidence and determination; (4) to offer leadership which can make the dedication of such men and women more constructive and more fruitful; and (5) to describe in detail the organization, function, and procedures of The John Birch Society.

Since defeat of the Communist conspiracy overshadows all other objectives at the present time, our action program for the near future breaks down into ten categories: (1) Dissemination of Americanist books and pamphlets as widely as possible; (2) increasing the circulation and readership of the best Americanist periodicals; (3) enlarging the audiences of Americanist commentators and newscasters on radio and television; (4) making more effective use -- through better planning, direction, and coordination -- of the weapon of letter writing; and (5) organizing Americanist fronts for many different purposes, including the widespread use of petitions in some instances; (6) waking up the American people to the seriousness of our danger by exposing, wherever possible, the pro-Communist activities of Communist sympathizers; (7) making it more difficult for hundreds of pro-Communist speakers to appear before thousands of unsuspecting audiences; (8) making Americanist speakers available for audiences which are

now, simply by default, at the mercy of pro-Communist lecturers; (9) supplying encouragement and renewed hope and determination to anti-Communist refugee groups throughout our country; and (10) carrying on an educational campaign on the political front, so that our members will understand better - and can help their fellow citizens to understand better -- the issues and candidates offered to them by both political parties.

We are already seriously engaged in about half of these areas of activity. And we shall expand our efforts into every one of the ten fields just as rapidly as we can.

* * *

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY invites you:

- (1) To buy The Life Of John Birch, referred to on Page 10, if you would like to know more about this heroic young American. Paperbound edition, 88 pages, \$1.00, postage paid.
- (2) To buy the Blue Book of The John Birch Society, if you want to know more about what we are trying to do, and how, and why. Plain cardboard cover, plastic link binding, 186 pages, \$2.00, postage paid.
- (3) To submit an application for membership in either the Home Chapter or a local chapter of The John Birch Society, whenever you are convinced of the sincerity of our purpose, the value of our program, and the integrity of our leadership. A blank for that purpose, with the dues schedule printed on it, is enclosed. If accepted, you will become one of a growing legion of truly dedicated men and women who are determined to save for our children and their children some semblance of the glorious country and humane civilization which we ourselves inherited.

ROBERT WELCH

Born December 1, 1899, on a farm in Chowan County, North Carolina. Ancestry, full of farmers and Baptist preachers, traceable to one Miles Welch who came to this country from Wales in 1720. Educated at University of North Carolina (four years), United States Naval Academy (two years), Harvard Law School (two years), and school of hard knocks (about forty years). Came to Boston from North Carolina in 1919. Has lived in Belmont for the past twenty years. Has one wife, two sons, a Golden Retriever dog, and fourteen golf clubs—none of which he understands, but all of which he loves.

Has spent a great part of his life getting from where he was to where he wasn't, for reasons which seemed worthwhile at the time. This includes two trips to England specifically to study the effects of the Socialist government; one trip around the world; and fairly extensive additional traveling in North America, South America, Europe, and Asia.

Author of *THE ROAD TO SALESMANSHIP*, published in 1941 by the Ronald Press Company; of *MAY GOD FORGIVE US*, published in 1952 by Henry Regnery Company; and of *THE LIFE OF JOHN BIRCH*, published in 1954 by Henry Regnery Company. Is editor and publisher of *AMERICAN OPINION*, a monthly magazine which reviews current events and appraises contemporary leaders on the world-wide stage. Has done much public speaking, and will climb on a soapbox to argue against the evils of socialism whenever anybody will listen.

Has been in the candy manufacturing business all of his adult life. Was for many years Vice President, in charge of sales and advertising, of one of the larger candy manufacturing companies, with factories on both coasts, and of its subsidiary sales corporations in various cities throughout the country. Is a director of one bank, and has served as a director of several other business corporations.

Was a member of the board of directors of the National Association of Manufacturers for seven years. Also served three years as a Regional Vice President of NAM, and two years as chairman of its Educational Advisory Committee. Has been active in many other business associations and committees, and in many community and educational activities — including service on the Belmont School Committee.

As of January 1, 1957, Mr. Welch gave up most of his business responsibilities — and most of his income — in order to devote practically all of his time and energy to the anti-Communist cause. Believes that the only thing the Communists now fear is having the truth become widely known, to the American people, about the methods and the progress of the whole international Communist conspiracy. For his readers or his listeners, Mr. Welch simply puts together clear but separate facts about the Communist advance, so that their significance becomes more apparent. Through this method he is trying to wake up as many of his fellow citizens as he can, to the horror and the imminence of the dangers which they face.

THE COUNCIL
of
THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

Each of the men listed below, who make up our COUNCIL, came into the Society solely as an individual, representing in no way any other group or organization. But simply for identification, we have given against each name the briefest line or two concerning other connections, or past accomplishments.

Dr. N. E. Adamson, Jr. A Boston surgeon. Assistant Medical Director of New England Mutual Life Insurance Company. Youngest member of the COUNCIL.

Mr. Thomas J. Anderson, Editor and Publisher of FARM AND RANCH, farm paper with 1,300,000 circulation.

Hon. T. Coleman Andrews. Former Commissioner of Internal Revenue of the United States. Now Chairman of the Board of two large (and affiliated) insurance companies.

Hon. Spruille Braden. Former Ambassador to several countries, former Assistant Secretary of State. A top authority on Latin American affairs.

Col. Laurence E. Bunker. Former Personal Aide to General Douglas MacArthur for 6½ years — during the Japanese occupation, the Korean War, and MacArthur's early months in this country after his return.

Mr. F. Gano Chance. President, A. B. Chance Company, Centralia, Missouri. Former President of Missouri Chamber Of Commerce and of Associated Industries of Missouri.

Mr. S. J. Conner. President of the Conroth Company, Chicago, and with many other business interests.

Mr. Ralph E. Davis. President of General Plant Protection Corporation and affiliated companies, Los Angeles.

Dr. S. M. Draskovich. Author of *Tito, Moscow's Trojan Horse*. Editor-in-chief of SRPSKA BORBA (*The Serbian Struggle*), a weekly newspaper, published in Chicago, with sizable circulation in thirty-six countries.

Mr. Wm. J. Grede, President of Grede Foundries, Inc., Milwaukee. Former President of the National Association of Manufacturers and former head of the International YMCA.

Mr. A. G. Heinsohn, Jr. President, Cherokee Mills, Sevierville, Tennessee. Author of *One Man's Fight For Freedom*. A very successful manufacturer and a very dedicated patriot.

Dr. Granville F. Knight. An outstanding physician and public-spirited citizen of Santa Barbara, California. Author of many scientific papers, especially on the misuse of chemicals and adulterants in foods.

Mr. Fred C. Koch. President, Rock Island Oil and Refining Company, Wichita, Kansas. Strong supporter of many patriotic movements, and especially of right-to-work legislation.

Mr. Alfred Kohlberg. Was a charter member of our COUNCIL. Now deceased.

Dean Clarence Manion. Former Dean of Notre Dame Law School. In 1953 was appointed, by President Eisenhower, chairman of a Special Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. He later resigned rather than stop crusading for the Bricker Amendment. Founded the Manion Forum, which now reaches a radio audience of many millions every week.

Mr. Frank E. Masland, Jr. President of C. H. Masland & Sons (carpet manufacturers), Carlisle, Pennsylvania. A leader in his community and state, who serves as chairman, vice-chairman, or active member of the boards of a great many educational, philanthropic, and industrial organizations. Also famous as an explorer of out-of-the-way places in the world.

Mr. N. Floyd McGowin. President, W. T. Smith Lumber Company, Chapman, Alabama. Active on many important boards of national organizations and enterprises.

Mr. W. B. McMillan. President of the Hussmann Refrigerator Company, St. Louis, Missouri. An outstanding business leader. Was, next to your Founder, the first member of The John Birch Society.

Dr. Revilo P. Oliver. Professor of Classical Languages and Literatures at the University of Illinois. Recognized as one of the very top scholars in America in his field. Now becoming rapidly recognized, also, as one of the ablest speakers on the Americanist side.

Mr. Cola G. Parker. Former President of the Kimberly-Clark Company. Former President of the National Association of Manufacturers. More recently, United States Employer Delegate—a stoutly patriotic and embattled delegate—to the International Labor Organization.

Hon. M. T. Phelps. Former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Arizona.

Mr. Louis Ruthenburg. Formerly President, then Chairman of the Board, of Servel, Inc., Evansville, Indiana. Former President, Indiana State Chamber of Commerce. Now retired except as an industrial consultant. Has received several honorary degrees and three Freedom Foundation awards.

Mr. J. Nelson Shepherd. President, Midwest-Beach Co., Sioux Falls, South Dakota. An outstanding citizen and strong supporter of many patriotic causes.

Mr. James Simpson, Jr. Was a charter member of our COUNCIL. Now deceased.

Mr. Robert W. Stoddard. President of Wyman-Gordon Company, Worcester, Massachusetts. On board of directors of several of New England's largest businesses, including First National Bank of Boston. Has just served two terms as President of Associated Industries of Massachusetts. Active on the boards of many educational and philanthropic institutions.

Lt. General Charles B. Stone, III, U.S.A.F. (Retired). Succeeded General Claire Chennault as Commander of our 14th Airforce, in China, near end of World War II, and is lifetime Honorary Chairman of the 14th Airforce Association.

Mr. Paul H. Talbert. President, Paul H. Talbert Company, Beverly Hills, California. One of the most successful insurance executives in the United States. Also one of the most public spirited and influential citizens of his state of California.

The basic function of the COUNCIL is threefold: (1) To show the stature and standing of the leadership of the Society; (2) to give your Founder the benefit of the COUNCIL's advice and guidance, both in procedural or organizational matters, and in substantive matters of policy; and (3) to select, with absolute and final authority, a Successor to myself as head of The John Birch Society, if and when an accident, "suicide," or anything sufficiently fatal is arranged for me by the Communists—or I simply die in bed of old age and a cantankerous disposition. And we believe that both the growth and the effectiveness of the Society will be greatly helped by the experience, ability, and resolute purpose of so strong a governing body. RW

COMMITTEE OF ENDORSERS

Now in process of formation. For some states no letters of invitation have yet gone out, and for others -- Texas and Wisconsin, for instance -- they have just started. But acceptances have been running about four to one against regrets, and we are already very proud of the membership of this committee.

Alabama

Lt. Gen. Edward M. Almond

Arizona

Frank Cullen Brophy
Clarence J. Duncan
Mrs. V. M. Haldiman
Edwin McDowell

California

Frank P. Adams
Mrs. Gertrude Derby Bale
Andrew Brown
Hon. Kit Clardy
William B. Coberly, Jr.
William W. Cone
C. M. Crawford
Richard H. Creel, M. D.
Mrs. Helen H. Garretson
Francis P. Graves
D. Hanson Grubb
J. H. Harris
Rev. Francis Keane
Max A. Koffman
D. B. Lewis
Doane M. Lowery
Mrs. Doris A. Parks
Sister M. Margaret Patricia, Ph. D.
Ray M. Spalding

Connecticut

Philip N. Dumbrille
Franklin Farrel, Jr.
Rev. Francis E. Fenton
A. Brooks Harlow
E. Merrill Root
E. L. Wiegand

District of Columbia

Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers
Mrs. John F. Gibson, Jr.
Rear Adm. Paulus P. Powell
Melchior F. R. Savarese, M. D.
Vice Adm. T. G. W. Settle

Florida

Mr. and Mrs. Frederick S. Ballweg
Mrs. A. Gray Boylston
Thomas Gaskins
Sydney Houston
Lt. Gen. Sumter L. Lowry
Mrs. Florence Post

Georgia

Hugh H. Armstrong
Paul K. McKenney, Jr.
R. Carter Pittman

Hawaii

Mrs. George P. Cooke

Idaho

J. H. Gipson, Sr.

Illinois

George J. Hess, M. D.
W. A. Kates
Theodore W. Miller
Max Pray
W. B. Taylor, Jr.
George H. Williamson

Indiana

James L. Doenges, M. D.
Hugh S. Ramsey, M. D.

Iowa

J. S. Kimmel, Sr.

Kansas

Robert D. Love
Hon. Wint Smith

Kentucky

R. S. Logan

Louisiana

John U. Barr
Dr. Medford Evans

Maryland

George O. Blome

Massachusetts

Eugene H. Clapp
Miss Hope Gray
Hubert W. Kregeloh
Charles J. Lewin
Robert H. Montgomery
Col. W. Bruce Pirnie
Burton A. Prince
Miss Olive Simes
Rodney Washburn

Michigan

Mrs. Harmon L. Brown
Richard Durant
Irving E. Ingraham
Vernon P. Johnson, M.D.

Mississippi

Tullins Brady

New Jersey

Mrs. Frederick Griswold, Jr.
Mark M. Jones
Ross Nichols
Louis S. Wegryn, M.D.

New Mexico

George S. Richardson, M.D.

New York

Mrs. Kenneth C. Crain
Frank de Ganahl
E. Ainsworth Eyre
Norman J. Gould
Merwin K. Hart
Mrs. Seth Milliken
T. I. Parkinson, Jr.
Commodore Frederick G. Reinicke
Archibald B. Roosevelt
George M. Tisdale

Ohio

Charles W. Pavey, M.D.
Hon. Gordon H. Scherer

Oklahoma

Glenn O. Young

Pennsylvania

Frank W. Gaydosh
Rev. Richard Ginder

Rhode Island

Robert B. Dresser
Norman D. MacLeod

South Carolina

James L. Coker
Roger Milliken
Thomas Parker, M.D.

Tennessee

J. P. McCallie

Texas

John R. Anderson
Mrs. W. L. Goldston
W. H. Kellogg
Brig. Gen. W. L. Lee
Edward D. McKay, M.D.
Maj. Gen. W. G. Weaver
Brig. Gen. T. F. Wessels

Utah

Capt. and Mrs. Stephen Abbot
Hon. J. Bracken Lee

Vermont

William S. Schlamm

Virginia

E. S. Dillard
Matt McKeon
Capt. R. W. Orrell

Washington

P. C. Beezley
Fred M. Harris
Col. Tom R. Hutton
Harry M. Robbins

Wisconsin

Mrs. Walter K. Graham
Mrs. Robert A. Murray
Mrs. Norman Skogstad

Wyoming

Dan Hanson
A. E. Larson

"But on one man's soul it hath broken,
A light that doth not depart;
And his look, or a word he hath spoken
Wrought flame in another man's heart."

The Blue Book
of
THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

Third Printing
Copyright 1959 by Robert Welch

December 9, 1959

Dear Reader:

The John Birch Society was founded at a meeting in Indianapolis, on December 9, 1958. Of the eleven men who had met me there on Monday morning, December 8, for the two-day session, one had come from Oregon, one from Kansas, one from Missouri, two from Wisconsin, one from Illinois, one from Indiana, one from Tennessee, one from Virginia, and two from Massachusetts.

These were all influential and very busy men. But they were also patriotic and public-spirited enough to have come to Indianapolis for the two full days, at my invitation, without knowing the reason for the meeting. For there was simply no way I could explain this reason in advance. With short breaks for coffee, for luncheons, and for brief discussions in between sections of the presentation, it required the two whole days to set forth the background, methods, and purposes of The John Birch Society. The pages that follow are simply a transcript, practically verbatim, of that presentation.

Quite a few of the details of the international situation, as outlined during the first hour and a half of that Monday, and hence as presented here, have changed -- and grown far more disturbing -- since then. Many of the specific plans which were projected during that Monday afternoon have already been put into operation. The Society so hopefully described on Tuesday morning, and so vigorously discussed throughout that Tuesday afternoon, has since taken solid form and begun to grow. As of

this first anniversary date, it already has working chapters in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Virginia, South Carolina, Florida, Tennessee, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Louisiana, Texas, California and Washington. It also has Home Chapter members in about forty states.

There would be advantages, of course, in making the minor changes at some points in this copy which would bring it strictly up to date. And obviously a repetition of the mere amenities of the occasion are by no means necessary to this report. But some details of the domestic and international picture, as caught by today's most careful pen, would again be out of date before these pages ever come from the printer. There is no instant at which the shutter may be snapped so that the print will remain true. And there may be some sentimental value, for many of us, in recording the original presentation exactly as it was given. So, with this much explanation, but without apology, we offer here the exact story listened to so patiently by the eleven men who -- with this writer -- brought The John Birch Society into existence.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch.

INTRODUCTION

Gentlemen:

Let me welcome you to Indianapolis.

All of you, I believe, are already aware of my appreciation for your being here. I know the job it is to squeeze two whole days, plus travel time, out of your crowded schedules. For that reason I am all the more grateful to you for doing so. It was not a favor that was asked easily or is lightly appreciated. But each of you also felt that you would not have been asked to give up everything else and come to this meeting, and then to listen to my voice off and on for so much of the two days, unless I had some very serious matters to put before you and proposals to discuss.

Frankly, the matters are serious and the proposals far-reaching. So much so that just their presentation makes me feel solemnly humble at the size of the task envisioned. For increasingly, before tomorrow is over, I hope to have all of you feeling that you are taking part, here and now, in the beginning of a movement of historical importance.

But long journeys start with easy steps, and our first step should be to identify our fellow travelers (no pun intended). Many of you are known to each other, but some are not. So let me, as informally as possible, introduce each one to the group. [This was then done.]

Now I think that just a word is in order, concerning the sheer physical arrangements and prospects for the next two days. The possibility of just sitting in those chairs, listening to my monotonous voice

go on and on until tomorrow evening, would frighten anybody. And while, with so much ground to cover, you are going to have to listen to me far more than I wish were the case, tiring you out or putting you to sleep is what I least want to do. So our hostess has arranged for coffee breaks in the mid-morning and in the mid-afternoon. We shall recess at least an hour for luncheon, which will be set up for us at one o'clock in the breakfast room.

You will find that, while I shall be doing most of the talking, and doing it pretty continuously, in the beginning, there will be shifts in the subject matter and in our approaches to it which I hope will help some; and that increasingly, as I get the background covered and the general purport of the meeting begins to shape up, we'll interrupt my monologue for questions and open discussions. Until, by tomorrow afternoon, I hope and believe I'll be doing less talking than anybody else in the room.

Even that schedule, even with the breaks, is, I know, a rather severe prospect. But---nobody in this group was selected because he would be coming to the meeting for personal pleasure, and I am sure nobody has done so. The ultimate reason that brought each man here was a sense of patriotic duty, and deep concern for the future of his family and his country. So we do not offer pleasure, but we shall try to keep the carrying out of that duty, during these two days, from being any more painful than we can help.

II

Now, if I may coin a new word, I think that the perfunctions are over, and we can start getting down to the real business of the meeting. And the first business, it seems to me, is to take a sharper and

somewhat longer look at why we are here. Our immediate and most urgent anxiety, of course, is the threat of the Communist conspiracy. And well it should be. For both internationally, and within the United States, the Communists are much further advanced and more deeply entrenched than is realized by even most of the serious students of the danger among the anti-Communists.

I personally have been studying the problem increasingly for about nine years, and practically full time for the past three years. And entirely without pride, but in simple thankfulness, let me point out that a lifetime of business experience should have made it easier for me to see the falsity of the economic theories on which Communism is supposedly based, more readily, than might some scholar coming into that study from the academic cloisters; while a lifetime of interest in things academic, especially world history, should have given me an advantage over many business men, in more readily seeing the sophistries in dialectic materialism.

So I have felt, rightly or wrongly, that my grasp of Communist purposes, and even of their methods, should have been more rapid than that of some of my patriotic friends who have gradually become staunch anti-Communists. Yet almost every day I run into some whole new area, where the Communists have been penetrating and working quietly for years, until now they are in virtual control of everything that is done in that slice or corner of our national life.

One illustration came to light through the publication of The Pentagon Case, by Col. Victor J. Fox, and through my getting to know its author, a retired Navy officer whose real name is Bob Winston, fairly well since it was written.

The charges of treason within the Pentagon did not surprise me, nor enlighten me, at all. To anybody who had watched the way the Administration moved heaven and earth to keep McCarthy from getting at the Army Loyalty Board, or from getting at the protectors within the Pentagon of the whole nest of traitors at Ft. Monmouth, it was clear that treason -- and a willingness to close one's eyes to treason, which is itself treasonous -- were widespread and rampant in our high army circles.

But what the book did reveal, of which I had had no knowledge before, was the huge and highly organized effort to wear down the morale of both our officers and our men in uniform, through the contents of the magazines which are made most readily available for them to read. I was recently in a small audience where Bob Winston showed and went through the contents of some ten or twelve magazines, all purchased in routine manner right in the Pentagon itself -- and available, of course, in our post exchanges all over the world. When you saw the pattern, it was astounding. Through this medium the Communists have been doing and are doing an incredible job of making service in our armed forces, especially if war should come, appear as a nightmare of cheapness and horror, instead of as an opportunity to fight honorably and victoriously for one's country. And it's no wonder that Ridgway and several other officers of the highest rank, who have not gone opportunistically blind over the situation, have been complaining about the extremely low morale in our armed forces today against that of a few years ago.

Other instances in every division or sub-division of our society, where the Communist achievement and activity is utterly unsuspected by the American people as a whole, could be compiled so that it would take hours just to list them. We are

not going to undertake any such survey here. But as background for our further discussion I am going to ask for your patience while I make a much more general review with you of how far the international conspiracy as a whole has now gone, and where we stand today.

This part of my presentation is actually a speech, under the title of Look At The Score, which in recent months I have been making to many different audiences. And I realize that for men as well informed as we have in this group, there will be much repetition of what you already know, and comparatively little that you do not know, in this survey. And yet, such a look at the score seems to me so important and so necessary, as a point of departure for our whole two-day program, that I hope you will all bear with me, and even give careful attention, while I cover the ground once more and try to draw the present battle lines on the world's ideological and political map.

SECTION ONE

Look At The Score

Throughout all history the bearer of bad news has been a most unpopular person. So I certainly am not seeking any garlands of popularity at present. For I am now spending my whole life spreading bad news, every day, everywhere I can.

But the man who is to me the most profound of all Americans, Ralph Waldo Emerson, once said that every mind must make its choice between truth and repose. It could not have both. Today you have left your choice somewhat in my hands. And I am not only bringing you truth instead of comfort, but truth which may shatter a lot of the comfort you already feel.

For the truth I bring you is simple, incontrovertible, and deadly. It is that, unless we can reverse forces which now seem inexorable in their movement, you have only a few more years before the country in which you live will become four separate provinces in a world-wide Communist dominion ruled by police-state methods from the Kremlin. The map for their division and administration is already drawn. We are living, in America today, in such a fool's paradise as the people of China lived in twenty years ago, as the people of Czechoslovakia lived in a dozen years ago, as the people of North Vietnam lived in five years ago, and as the people of Iraq lived in only yesterday.

To illustrate and support this statement I am going to ask you to look for a little while with me at

some tedious and perhaps even painful history. For as George Santayana so brilliantly pointed out, those who will learn nothing from history are condemned to repeat it.

The Cold War in which we are engaged is certainly no game. It is a fatal struggle for freedom against slavery, for existence against destruction. But we can use the analogy of a game nevertheless. And I want to show you, right on the clear record about which there can be no reasonable argument, how far that game has progressed and what the score is today.

To do that, we must go back to 1917, when the contest started. In that year Lenin was able, with Trotsky and only a few hundred followers, to take the Russian revolution out of the hands of its earlier leaders, and to convert it into a Communist strike for power. In 1918 they established some degree of stability and recognition for their rule by the treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany. And by 1922 they had extended their infiltration, terror, and control enough to establish the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. They were able to bring into this U.S.S.R., besides the greatly reduced Russia proper left them at the time of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, the further areas of Russian Armenia, Azerbaidzhan, Georgia, Ukraine, and Byelorussia. And this combination was the base from which Lenin and his successors set out, deliberately and determinedly, to conquer the world.

Lenin died in 1924. But before he died he had laid down for his followers the strategy for this conquest. It was, we should readily admit, brilliant, farseeing, realistic, and majestically simple. It has been paraphrased and summarized as follows. "First, we will take Eastern Europe. Next, the masses of Asia. Then we shall encircle that last bastion

of capitalism, the United States of America. We shall not have to attack; it will fall like overripe fruit into our hands." To make doubly clear what he meant and how firmly he meant it, with regard to taking Asia ahead of Western Europe, and then using Asia as a stepping stone and base from which to conquer Western Europe and the rest of the world, the strategy was also stated that, for the Communists, the road to Paris led through Peking and Calcutta. Today you can easily see how that road to Paris is leading back from Peking through Calcutta, Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad, and Algiers.

Now, gentlemen, there are many remarkable things about that three-step strategy. But the most remarkable is that the Communists have never wavered from it one iota in the thirty-five years since it was promulgated. Through famines which they deliberately caused in order to collectivize agriculture, through whatever industrialization they have achieved, through wars which they have cleverly and coldbloodedly brought on and prolonged for the help of such wars in their plans, through periods of peace and prosperity elsewhere in the world, through power struggles within the Kremlin itself, through apparent changes and reversals in the party line that make non-Communist heads swim in confusion, through every upheaval and opportunity, the Communists have always kept their eyes unwaveringly on this strategy and on plans to carry it out.

They have let nothing stand in their way, and nothing divert them. They have used the philosophy of socialism as an ideological weapon, in this struggle, whenever they could and for whatever it was worth. But it was only one of their many weapons. They have also used bribery, lies, bluff, brutality, the countless tentacles of treason, murder on a scale never before dreamed of in the world, and every pos-

sible means to advance them on this road, without the slightest concern for any moral difference in those various means. And above all, they have used patience. A patient gradualism has been the most important key to the Communists' overwhelming success.

II

The first great break for the Communist conspiracy came in 1933, with our formal recognition of Stalin's regime. At that time the Russian government was staying alive financially from week to week by methods which, in the case of individuals, would be called check-kiting. Our recognition tremendously increased their prestige and credit, at home and with other nations. It saved them from financial collapse; and it enabled them greatly to increase their nests of spies and propaganda agents in this country and elsewhere in the world.

Their second break came with the beginning of World War II, which was largely brought on through the world-wide diplomatic conniving of Stalin's agents, for the advantage of making Russia a wartime ally of the Western nations, and for the sake of the chaos and resulting opportunities the war would provide. And anybody who doubts that statement hardly needs to study anything more than the incredible ramifications and accomplishments of just the Sorge spy ring to discover its truth.

With the war once under way, Stalin was able, through the influence of his agents in foreign countries -- including our own -- to keep the eyes and the anger of the civilized world focussed on the crimes of Hitler, while he himself was perpetrating conquest and crime, continuously and success-

fully, that far outdid even Hitler's dreams. But in this progress Stalin always kept his aim exactly on the goals set forth by Lenin. And the tallies of his advance now begin to flash on the scoreboard thick and fast.

In August, 1939, as a result of his temporary compact with Hitler, Stalin seized all of eastern Poland. During that same year and in 1940, through brutal conquest by force of arms -- which his agents in Western countries were able to get the Western nations completely to ignore -- he took over the Karelian Isthmus of Finland, and swallowed up all of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

It is true that most of these conquests were temporarily taken out of his hands by the Germans, during the World War that immediately followed; but they reverted to him as the Germans were driven back in 1944. And although the war had supposedly been fought -- in the beginning, anyway -- over the territorial integrity of Poland and other small nations, the Communist influence among the Western allies was so great that as early as the Teheran Conference in 1943 it was made clear that, when the fighting was over, Stalin was going to be allowed to keep everything he had stolen.

He was. And a new series of conquests started immediately. The formal flaunting to the world of these conquests occurred as follows. In January, 1946, Stalin's henchmen proclaimed their "People's Republic" in Albania. During the course of 1946 they established themselves as the government of Hungary, with brutal execution of Hungarian patriots who had resisted the Germans and now resisted the Russians. In July, 1946 Stalin's hatchet man, Tito, completed his crushing grasp of Yugoslavia by the public shooting of Mihailovich. In November, 1946, Stalin's agents took over Romania and Bulgaria.

In January, 1947, the mock elections in Poland formally completed the two years of incredibly cruel subjugation of that nation to Stalin's "Lublin Gang." In February, 1948, Stalin's lieutenants in Czechoslovakia pulled their coup d'état and formally placed that country behind the Iron Curtain. And in October, 1950, Stalin's lackeys formalized their puppet state of East Germany.

By this time, of course, there were other takeovers going on in other parts of the world, as we shall see. But we are dealing here only with Europe. And East Germany finished the job there, as it had been planned by Lenin, twenty-six years before. The Communists now had Eastern Europe entire, and the first step of their three-step program was complete.

III

Next was Asia. And there is one thing, among many, for which you have to give the Communists credit. While they are working on a particular task, and no matter how difficult it may be, they never cease looking ahead or preparing for the tasks that are to follow. Although they were fully adjusted to the importance of taking Eastern Europe first, nevertheless they began their infiltration and work in Asia, especially in China, almost before the blood of the 1917 revolution had grown cold in the streets of Moscow.

Of course we cannot take time here to go into the ruses, plans, deceptions, betrayals, and epic cruelties by which the Communists eventually were able to make their power increasingly felt in Asia. It took them a long time. Not until they had the full help of our government, completely misled by Communist influence, both during World War II and im-

mediately after that war, were the Communists successful in Asia, on any sizable scale or in any formal manifestations. But these successes then came thick and fast. Here is their sequence.

V-J Day was August 15, 1945. Before even that month of August was over, Stalin's troops occupied all of Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands -- thus pointing two guns permanently at Japan -- by our specific permission. In October, 1945, Stalin's henchmen set up their "People's Republic" in Mongolia. In 1948, they set up their government in North Korea. In October, 1948 Stalin's troops took over Manchuria.

All of this time, with Moscow's help to Mao Tse-tung exerted primarily through its influence over our government, Mao and the Chinese Communists were crushing their opposition in more and more of China. For while Mao's hordes had been given by Moscow all of the tremendous stockpiles of Japanese arms in Manchuria, our government prevented Chiang Kai-shek's troops from getting even ammunition for the guns they did have, by an embargo declared by General George Marshall. Marshall even boasted that he had disarmed thirty-nine of Chiang's divisions with a stroke of his pen -- which he had. And so, by 1950, Stalin's agents had completed their conquest of the whole mainland of China.

In May, 1951, Moscow's invaders seized Tibet. In the summer of 1953 Moscow's agents imposed on us, in Korea, a truce so shameful, in both the procedures of the negotiations as well as the substance of the truce, as to be incredible in the light of past American history. One result was to strengthen the Kremlin's grasp and use of North Korea. In the summer of 1954 Ho Chi Minh and Chou En-lai and other tools of the Kremlin took over the better half of Indochina. That completes the coverage of all

those parts of Asia which are formal satellites today. How much further the blackout would have extended by now, but for a change in the Kremlin's method of establishing its control, there is no way of telling. But that brings us to another part of the story.

For by this time Stalin was dead, Malenkov and his associates or subordinates had made clear that the Kremlin was in just as firm control of worldwide Communism as ever Stalin had been; and the whole conspiratorial apparatus was rapidly marching forward towards ultimate total victory. So rapidly, in fact, and so visibly, that a different kind of problem now loomed ever larger before them. That was the problem of keeping the remaining free world -- and especially the American people -- from becoming aware of how fast and how surely the Communists were taking over the rest of the planet.

For this, and other highly advantageous reasons, the new regime in the Kremlin called a halt to the establishment of formal satellites, and began to extend its power through so-called "neutralist" countries. These neutralist nations pose as independent, but the governments are, in one way or another, largely controlled by Moscow. The difference between these dependencies, and true satellites such as Czechoslovakia or East Germany -- or Yugoslavia -- is more one of form, for the sake of expediency; than it is one of degree. For in either case the people may be bitterly opposed to Communism.

Friends sometimes ask me how on earth I can speak of Indonesia now being within the Communist block, when eighty percent of the Indonesians are devout Moslems, who hate Communism with every fibre of their being. But eighty percent of the people of Poland are devout Catholics, who also hate Communism with every beat of their hearts. And nobody will deny the Communist status of Poland.

Of course the people in Indonesia hate Communism, but so do those in East Germany. And those in Indonesia are being held in line in support of Communist plans, and gradually brought under a Communist police state rule, despite their futile and sometimes suicidal opposition, just as surely as were the people of Poland or of Hungary before them.

Now I know that plenty of writers, commentators, and officials will tell you that Nehru is not a Communist but a "dynamic neutralist," and that Nasser is not a Communist but an "Arab nationalist." But the bellwethers of all such opinion molders are, by and large, the same people who insisted twenty years ago that Mao Tse-tung was not a Communist but an "agrarian reformer," and five years ago that Achmed Sukarno was not a Communist but was the George Washington of Indonesia. The widespread acceptance of any of these views is, in my opinion, merely more proof of the success of Communist propaganda. For if you will study the life and actions of each man, carefully and objectively, you will find that the evidence in support of his being a tool of the Kremlin becomes quite overwhelming.

And those dependencies in Asia where the rulership already belongs de facto, in whole or in large part, to Moscow, are Indonesia, Burma, India, Ceylon, Afghanistan, Syria, probably South Vietnam, and now Iraq and Lebanon. Actually, the anti-Communist position is crumbling rapidly, everywhere in Asia. But let's consider just those countries we have named. When these are added to the actual satellites -- China, North Korea, North Vietnam, and all of Russia in Asia -- and if you will look at a map of Asia with all of these countries properly shaded, I think you will agree with me in my estimate of the Communists' progress. It is that they have already gone three-fourths of the way towards the completion of the second step in their

three-part program.

IV

Now, let's consider the rest of the world. And again we find that the Communists, while working hard at the immediate task of getting control of the masses of Asia, and of making Fortress Asia the stepping stone for conquering the rest of the world, have also been looking ahead and doing everything possible -- everything that was also strategically wise -- to make their final undertaking both easier and more certain of success.

It is interesting, for instance, and also frightening, to note how far the Communists have already gone in their encirclement of Western Europe -- although their movement back across Asia, from Peking towards Paris, has only recently reached the Mediterranean. Their treatment of northern Africa as ~~geographically and ethnically an extension~~, for their purposes, of the Asian mass and masses, is only a part of the story.

As you will see, again by marking up a map, this encirclement of Western Europe begins with Russia itself and its immediate satellites on the north and east. Then, as you move around the Asiatic side of the Mediterranean you have Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, in all of which the Communists either already have control, however disguised, or are rapidly acquiring control. Jumping across Spain and the British Isles, to the northwest there is Iceland. Then, completing the circle, Norway, and now Finland. And gentlemen, any idea that Norway is not, for all practical purposes, now in Communist hands, or that Iceland and Finland are not completely so, is in my opinion as

unrealistic as the thought that Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana is a Democrat.

This doesn't mean that the Communists intend to have troops march in from this periphery and take Western Europe by force. They don't have to. It does mean that the pressures and threats they can exert on the chancelleries of Western Europe from this encirclement; the aid they can give to their agents in the governments and national activities of every kind in Western Europe; and the weakening of the remaining anti-Communist strength in Western Europe through this encirclement without, added to infiltration within -- that this overall Communist progress has made the position of Western Europe very precarious indeed. It certainly makes plausible the contention of one of our best-informed writers for our magazine, himself a European, that the Communists will be able to take Western Europe by telephone within the next two or three more years if they consider it strategically wise to do so.

Coming to the Western Hemisphere, you now have Dr. Jagan, an avowed Communist, ruling British Guiana. If any real anti-Communist were elected President of Panama, he would undoubtedly be assassinated, as Ramon was some four years ago. Incidentally, assassination of heads of state is now becoming quite a normal and regular part of the technique of Communist advance in Latin America. Within the past few years there have been assassinations of Ramon of Panama, President Somoza of Nicaragua, President Castillo Armas of Guatemala -- and before that of Colonel Aranda of Guatemala, presidential candidate who had been murdered in Mexico to enable Arbenz Guzman to take over.

The Communists are now in complete control of Bolivia and Venezuela. They expect to have Guatemala back in the Communist camp in short order.

And Romulo Betancourt of Venezuela, who says he is not a Communist but has admitted he was a Marxist, and who has spent his whole career in helping the Communists, seems to be taking the lead in plots and plans to overthrow the very few remaining really anti-Communist governments in Latin America. They are Cuba, Paraguay, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic. Right now he is giving powerful help -- probably the most powerful, next to that of our government -- towards the overthrow of Batista in Cuba by the Communist, Fidel Castro, and the establishment of a Communist beachhead ninety miles from our shores. And gentlemen, if you have any slightest doubt that Castro is a Communist, don't. If he is successful, time will clearly reveal that he is an agent of the Kremlin.

On the other side of the hemisphere we have Hawaii. And for the truth about the present Communist control of the Hawaiian Islands, just ask any member, Republican or Democrat, of the Senate Subcommittee which spent considerable time on the Islands, investigating the situation, in the fall of 1956. Or ask any member of the leading families there -- the Cookes, Bishops, Judds, Castles, or others whom you may happen to know.

Five years ago these people were all for Hawaiian statehood. For the last two years many of them have been vigorously opposing Hawaiian statehood, for the near future, by every means at their disposal. For they have feared that Hawaii, as a state, would send two Communists or pro-Communists, picked by Harry Bridges, to the United States Senate, and that the whole state government would be Communist controlled. As any of the leading citizens will tell you, and as the Senate Subcommittee stated in plain language, the Communist stranglehold on the economic life of Hawaii is now so great that it con-

stitutes virtual political control as well.

When you then finally come to the extent of Communist infiltration and influence right inside our own continental borders, the subject is entirely too large for us to do more than indicate a few pointers. But, for a first danger sign, the unions which control our shipping and many vital parts of our economy are Communist-ruled or Communist-dominated. Just for one instance, seventy-five vital links in the most secret communications of our government itself, including those of the Pentagon to Air Force bases in New York, Maine, England, Canada, and Newfoundland, are all available to the members of one union, the American Communications Association, which was kicked out of the CIO in 1950 as being too Communist even for that outfit. In May, 1957, the president of this union and five other officials and members invoked the Fifth Amendment when questioned about Communist Party membership. Yet the members of this union are still in position to put their hands on any and all messages over these seventy-five links in our government's own communications system.

Now the real significance of what I have just said lies in the fact that this door of betrayal is known to be wide open, and nobody -- in Congress, in the executive branch, in the Pentagon itself -- nobody even dares to try to close it. That is one indication of how powerful the Communist influence has now become in almost all of our federal agencies. A twenty-five-year career man in our State Department resigned three years ago, to tell the American people in his book, Inside The State Department, of the treasonous falsification of information concerning our foreign affairs which is going on there all of the time. And the Communist influence over our mass media of communication -- press, radio, television -- is

so great that you probably never even heard of his book.

Friends sometimes say to me: "Look. Even in easy-going America there must still be a few Arnold von Winkelrieds left; men who are willing to gather all of the enemy's spears they can reach into their own bodies, so that their compatriots can break through the hostile phalanx. If things are as bad in our government as you say they are, you'd think there would be some patriot inside who would be willing to give up his career, sacrifice everything if need be, and tell the American people the truth."

The answer is, of course, that there are many men who do this, one after another. Arthur Bliss Lane, one of our greatest, most experienced, and most honored diplomats, resigned from the service in order to write I Saw Poland Betrayed. This was no second-hand story, told by some hack journalist dealing in sensationalism. This was the factual recital by an American ambassador, giving out of his own personal knowledge the names, dates, places, and events of the deliberate and treasonous betrayal of Poland, by our government, into Soviet hands. These were things he had seen with his own eyes, and events in which he had been forced to acquiesce, while actually serving as our ambassador to the very country being betrayed. His book, for which he gave up so much, should have shocked the American people into a fury of resentment against the Acheson-infested State Department and the whole Truman administration. But it didn't create even a ripple. It sold a few thousand copies. Then no more were available. Anybody who wrote the coerced and frightened publisher about it got only doubletalk in reply. Most of the copies which had gone to libraries were gradually removed by Communists or Communist sympathizers and became "lost." If you want an interesting exer-

cise today, just see how long it will take any of the best secondhand book dealers in America to find you a copy, and at what cost.

Dr. Medford Evans was the Chief of Security Training for our whole Atomic Energy Commission and all of its plants. It was by far the best job he had ever had. In due course he discovered how blatant and widespread were the treasonous activities throughout the whole operation. In another while he discovered how easily and successfully all efforts on his part to improve security measures were ignored or circumvented by the traitors. With a family to support, and no money, Dr. Evans gave up his job, in order to tell the American people the truth in his book, The Struggle For The A-Bomb. He made clear that, despite the A-bombs which the Soviets had been exploding for show-off purposes, and to increase their prestige and diplomatic pressures, they had not yet built one. Their agents had simply walked off from our plants with the necessary separate parts, which had then been assembled in Russia, and exploded whenever it best suited the Soviets' pretenses.

Here again we had an able and respected American writing, at great cost to himself, of things he knew from his own personal observation, contacts, and experience. The book dealt with a matter of literally vital importance to the safety of our country. It told of treason at work beyond any conception of the American people. It should have rocked the nation from one end to the other. Instead, it sold twenty-six hundred copies! There is no clearer proof of the effectiveness of the blanket of obfuscation, with which Communist influences have been able to keep the truth about their activities from being known.

But to go on with other pointers! The best informed

authorities say that there are at least thirty huge Communist espionage rings operating in this country today against the only two or three that have been only partly exposed. Not only has all really effective exposure of these espionage rings and agents now been stopped, but scores of known Communist-sympathizers have been restored, by Supreme Court rulings, to their former jobs within our Federal Government. Communist sympathies and even actual Communist subversion are daily made more respectable by the actions of our government, our great universities, much of our press, and by the complacency of our people. And I could go on with specific factual illustrations and instances of this spreading, deepening Communist influence for hours -- as I do in other speeches -- if this were the occasion. It is not. So let me come to the point, which is an appraisal of the Communists' progress towards the completion of their third step. Before doing so, however, I should like to make clear in my own defense that my credentials for the task are not based simply on my association with other anti-Communists. It's true that I have been to Formosa, and talked with Chiang Kai-shek and to practically every high official in the Chinese Nationalist Government -- with some of them at considerable length. I have been to West Germany, and talked with Chancellor Adenauer. I have been in personal association or voluminous correspondence with many if not most of the leading anti-Communists in this country and throughout the world. And I have diligently studied the anti-Communist books and objective histories which reveal piecemeal the horrifying truth of the past two decades.

None of that, however, constitutes the best support of my right to express the opinion I am going to give you. That right comes primarily from a study of the Communists' own periodicals and current

literature. I read The Daily Worker faithfully until they suspended its publication. I now read their best known weekly in America, the National Guardian, far more regularly than I ever read the Saturday Evening Post. I subscribe to, and keep up fairly well with, their monthlies, Political Affairs and the New World Review. I take three or four Communist publications from other countries, and friends are constantly sending me tearsheets and articles out of others, from all over the world. And it is in the Communists' own publications that you not only read their lies, and find the full measure of their malice and their nastiness. That is where you also learn what they consider important, in all they have done in the past or expect to do in the future. They lay out the line for their own people, confident of sufficient control over all mass media of communication in America to ensure that that line reaches the American people -- including the great mass of newspaper readers -- only in such parts, in such ways, and at such times, as the Communist Party desires. And it is to this presentation by the Communists themselves, especially in their periodicals, that the serious student of the conspiracy goes to learn of their progress and their plans.

It is with the benefit of this realistic background, therefore, that I venture to offer the following opinion. It is certainly an honest opinion, concurred in by all of the well informed anti-Communists I know. It is that the Communists, through long and careful and insidious preparation, have already gone at least one-fourth of the way towards the accomplishment of their third and final step -- which is taking over this country. And with it, of course, the rest of the world.

The simple arithmetic of the situation, therefore, is as follows. Call each of the three steps one, and their total three. The Communists have accomplished

all of the first step (eastern Europe), plus three-fourths of the second (the masses of Asia), plus one-fourth of the third. One plus three-fourths plus one-fourth adds up to 2 out of that total of 3; and not to believe that the Communists are already two-thirds of the way towards carrying out their total program, or that they are not now moving an accelerated pace and with increased momentum to finish the job, is to close your eyes to the plain facts as surely as did the good people of Czechoslovakia in 1948 -- and with the same ultimately fatal results.

V

Now let's just look very briefly at a different kind of scoreboard measuring the same Communist advance. At the last get-together of International Communism, before World War II, the Communist Parties represented had a total membership figure of slightly more than four million members. But in November, 1957, at the triumphant meeting in Moscow to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the success of the Bolshevik Revolution, seventy-five Communist Parties could be officially counted, with a total membership of thirty-three million. This is approximately an eight hundred percent increase in the twenty years; and that is just about the rate of growth of Communist Power throughout the world in that time, no matter how you look at it.

Or let's study quickly still one more and final scoreboard, perhaps the most revealing and frightening of them all. Here it is.

Since August, 1945, the Communists have averaged taking over seven thousand newly enslaved subjects every hour. And please remember that these people, whether in Indonesia or Iraq or Korea, have

the same love for their families, think of concentration camps with the same despairing horror, and feel the same pain under torture, as do you and I.

So let me repeat that. Seven thousand more human beings, just like you and me, have been brought under the incredibly brutal rule of a Communist police state, every hour, twenty-four hours of every day, 365 days of every year, for the past thirteen years. And not only is that process not being interrupted in any way. Today the rate of conquest and enslavement is actually increasing -- as the eighty million people of Indonesia would gladly testify. For the darkness of police-state rule is closing over them very fast.

Now please note, gentlemen, that the Communists have never made any of this immense progress by the direct use of force. They have beguiled Chinese into fighting Chinese, Koreans into fighting Koreans, Vietnamese into fighting the French and each other, the Israelis, British, and French into fighting Egyptians, and the Algerians into fighting the French. They have even maneuvered Americans into fighting Chinese Communists in Korea, with the Americans' hands tied behind their backs. But not one Russian regiment has ever taken part in any of this imperialistic advance, except in the suppression of rebellion in already conquered territory, as in Hungary. The Communists have put over these tremendous gains by bluff and bluster, lies and deception, murder, and -- above all -- by treason within other governments; and by diplomatic pressures based on all of these other means. And that lamp of experience certainly should guide us as to what they are up to today.

There are three possible methods by which the Communists might take us over. One would be, through a sufficient amount of infiltration and propaganda, to disguise Communism as just another political party;

and thus to get enough Communist agents and sympathizers into positions of power in our government to enable them to seize formal power by a peaceful coup d'état, as they did in Czechoslovakia in February, 1948. We do not anticipate that development.

The second method would be by fomenting internal civil war in this country, and aiding the Communist side in that war with all necessary military might. This is, of course, the method they used in China. But in the long struggle in China the Kremlin was handicapped by the need for keeping its own intervention from being accurately understood and appraised by other nations. By the time the Soviet rulers ever came to apply this plan to our country, there obviously would be no compelling reason for them to hold back in any way.

And it seems clear, from all of their past history, as well as from the nature of the beast, that -- despite their vaunted missiles and bombs -- the Soviets would not attempt military conquest of so powerful and so extensive a country as the United States without availing themselves of a sufficiently strong fifth column in our midst; a fifth column which could provide the sabotage, the false leadership, and the sudden seizures of power and of means of communication, needed to convert the struggle, from the very beginning, into a civil war rather than clear-cut war with an external enemy. The horror and cruelty which would be made possible by such planned confusion is something to contemplate. And, as we said in the first issue of our magazine, AMERICAN OPINION, we can foresee a possibility of the Kremlin taking this gamble in time.

In fact, it is clear that the Communists long ago made plans to have this method available, in whole or in part, to whatever extent it might be useful. The trouble in our southern states has been fomented

almost entirely by the Communists for this purpose. It has been their plan, gradually carried out over a long period with meticulous cunning, to stir up such bitterness between whites and blacks in the South that small flames of civil disorder would inevitably result. They could then fan and coalesce these little flames into one great conflagration of civil war, in time, if the need arose. The whole slogan of "civil rights," as used to make trouble in the South today, is an exact parallel to the slogan of "agrarian reform" which they used in China. And the Communists, who are pulling innocent and idealistic Americans into promoting this agitation for them, have no more real interest in the welfare of the Negroes and no more concern about the damage they actually do to our colored population, than the Chinese Communists had with regard to the welfare of the Chinese peasants.

But there is a third method which is far more in accordance with Lenin's long-range strategy. It is one which they are clearly relying on most heavily. And this is taking us over by a process so gradual and insidious that Soviet rule is slipped over so far on the American people, before they ever realize it is happening, that they can no longer resist the Communist conspiracy as free citizens, but can resist the Communist tyranny only by themselves becoming conspirators against established government. The process in that direction is going on right now, gradually but surely and with ever-increasing spread and speed.

A part of that plan, of course, is to induce the gradual surrender of American sovereignty, piece by piece and step by step, to various international organizations -- of which the United Nations is the outstanding but far from the only example -- while the Communists are simultaneously and equally gradually getting complete working control of such organizations. Both

sets of steps, which were short and insidious at first, are now being steadily increased in both length and brazenness. Until one day we shall gradually realize that we are already just a part of a world-wide government ruled by the Kremlin, with the police-state features of that government rapidly closing in on ourselves.

But another part of that plan is the conversion of the United States into a socialist nation, quite similar to Russia itself in its economy and political outlook, before police-state enforcement is ever introduced. The best way to explain the aim here is simply to quote the directive under which some of the very largest American foundations have been secretly but visibly working for years. This directive is "so to change the economic and political structure of the United States that it can be comfortably merged with Soviet Russia."

These foundations, influential as they are, nevertheless are comparatively just a very small part of the tremendous forces at work in America today to accomplish this aim. And these total forces, marvelously organized and brilliantly directed, use a hundred to a thousand completely misguided Americans who are not Communists, for every actual Communist who is pulling strings behind the scenes, to help them to put over their innocent- and even "progressive"- sounding plans.

For the West, gentlemen, is suffering under many delusions. One is that our enemy is an ideology. It is not. Communism is not a political party, nor a military organization, nor an ideological crusade, nor a rebirth of Russian imperialist ambition, though it comprises and uses all of these parts and pretenses. Communism, in its unmistakable present reality, is wholly a conspiracy, a gigantic conspiracy to enslave mankind; an increasingly successful conspiracy, con-

trolled by determined, cunning, and utterly ruthless gangsters, willing to use any means to achieve its end.

One means, of course, is to make socialism sound appealing; and above all to make it seem inevitable. This operation, of giving an appearance of spontaneity to a movement to the left which is conspiratorially plotted and promoted, is so large that we could not possibly outline it here. Let's merely look at one of the more spectacular means the Communists designed for this promotion -- namely Sputnik -- and let you project the whole wheel from that one spoke.

VI

I can't tell you how large a part of their military budget the Russians put into a crash program to get a Sputnik into the sky -- after goodness knows how many failures -- by October, 1957. I can't tell you how Communist influences succeeded in arranging for reports of the Gaither Committee and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund Study Group -- both made up mostly of entirely loyal Americans -- to come out with such beautiful timing and terrifying hints to reinforce the impact of Sputnik on the American consciousness. But I can tell you exactly what the Kremlin has expected to accomplish by all of this concerted ballyhoo.

For years we have been taken steadily down the road to Communism by steps supposedly designed, and presented to the American people, as ways of fighting Communism. The whole foreign aid program is an excellent example. Our foreign aid has done some good, of course. The Communists do not believe in using solid-black instrumentalities, but

dark gray ones. They are always willing to be hurt, or to take a loss, for the sake of an ultimate net gain in any transaction. And American foreign aid, from the time it began as a contribution of some seventy-two percent of UNRRA funds, until it has reached the mammoth proportions of today, has been a tremendous help to the advance of Communism. It was planned by the Communists for that purpose. This pouring of American billions into foreign countries, to make things easier for the Communists and their socialist allies or agents, is exactly what the Communists wanted the American government to do. But they have not taken over so much of the world, so largely by cunning, without that cunning being brilliant, and professional. The one surest way in which foreign aid could be ballyhooed successfully, and made permanently acceptable to the American taxpayer, was to present it as a means of opposing Communism.

Now we see exactly the same principle at work on the whole front of our domestic economy. Although our danger remains almost entirely internal, from Communist influences right in our midst and treason right in our government, the American people are being persuaded that our danger is from the outside, is from Russian military superiority. And under the excuse of preparing to match that military might, of defending ourselves from this threat of outside force; in other words, under the guise of fighting Communism, we are being stampeded into the biggest jump ever towards, and perhaps the final jump right into, socialism and then the Communist camp.

Of course Sputnik did many things for the Soviets. It gave them, no matter how undeserved, a whole new level of prestige in the scientific world. It put very valuable ammunition into the hands of the world-wide Communist-sponsored groups, which in the United States were called Committees For A Sane Nuclear

Policy, and into the hands of all of the Cyrus Eatons and Bertrand Russells and other "let's surrender" boys. And it indirectly enabled the pro-Communists in the chancelleries of Western Europe to increase their pressures on Adenauer in many ways.

But we are talking at this point about the usefulness of Sputnik to the Communists and their socialist allies, through its impact on the psychology of the American people with regard to their domestic affairs. This, in my opinion, was the most important ultimate effect of Sputnik, as planned by the Soviets, and as now gradually being realized by them. Here are the Communists aims for the United States -- to be achieved, they hope, through the leftward momentum of the attitude induced by Sputnik and all of its auxiliary propaganda. (1) Greatly expanded government spending, for missiles, for so-called defense generally, for foreign aid, for every conceivable means of getting rid of ever larger sums of American money -- as wastefully as possible. (2) Higher and then much higher taxes. (3) An increasingly unbalanced budget, despite the higher taxes. When these notes were first put together many months ago, I expected a deficit of ten billion dollars at least, in the fiscal year of 1958 -- 1959, despite all of the talk at that time about a balanced budget. Today well informed people, even within our government, are talking about a deficit of fifteen billion. (4) Wild inflation of our currency, leading rapidly towards its ultimate repudiation. (5) Government controls of prices, wages, and materials, supposedly to combat inflation. (6) Greatly increased socialistic controls over every operation of our economy and every activity of our daily lives. This is to be accompanied, naturally and automatically, by a correspondingly huge increase in the size of our bureaucracy, and in both the cost and reach of our domestic government. (7) Far more

centralization of power in Washington, and the practical elimination of our state lines. There is a many-faceted drive at work to have our state lines eventually mean no more within the nation than our county lines do now within the states. (8) The steady advance of Federal aid to and control over our educational system, leading to complete federalization of our public education. (9) A constant hammering into the American consciousness of the horror of "modern warfare," the beauties and the absolute necessity of "peace" -- peace always on Communist terms, of course. And (10) the consequent willingness of the American people to allow the steps of appeasement by our government which amount to a piecemeal surrender of the rest of the free world and of the United States itself to the Kremlin-ruled tyranny.

There is what Sputnik and all of its side decorations are really about. If the Communists can succeed in making us domestically a communized nation, it will not be too difficult a final move for them to pull us right into the world-wide Communist organization, ruled by the Kremlin. And unless we can have enough of an awakening in this country, and enough of a rebellion against the appeasement policies of our government outside and its communizing policies inside America, the Communists are going to succeed in accomplishing every one of these means to their final end, and that final goal as well.

VII

In summary, gentlemen, we are losing, rapidly losing, a cold war in which our freedom, our country, and our very existence are at stake. And while we don't seem to know we are losing this war, you can be sure the Communists do. There is just one

thing -- only one thing in the whole world -- which the Communists fear today. It is that, despite their tremendous influence in our government and over all of our means of mass communication, the American people will wake up too soon to what has really been happening, and what is now happening right under their very noses.

The only thing which can possibly stop the Communists is for the American people to learn the truth in time. It is to contribute my small bit to such an awakening that I have given up most of my business responsibilities and most of my income, in order through my magazine and speeches to bring some inkling of the truth to as many people as I can reach. I do not expect nor deserve any slightest applause or sympathy for this sacrifice. I mention it at all for just one reason only -- which is to show how deadly serious the situation appears to me.

You may think I am an alarmist. Frankly I am. For in my opinion, based on many years of intensive study of the methods, the progress, and the menace of the Communist conspiracy, there is ample reason for extreme alarm; and I hope to make you alarmists too. It seems to me that all you need, to cause you to share my alarm, my fears, and my determination, is simply to get a map of the world and Look At The Score! And the first thing for you to do, as a newly awakened alarmist, is to become better informed about many things that we cannot cover here.

One matter on which most Americans need to become better informed is what being subjugated by the Communists, or "arriving at an accommodation with Communism" as they want it called, would really mean. For their cruelty and terrorism is almost beyond imagination; and the domination of our press, television and radio by Communist influences is now so great that you simply are not allowed to

learn or be reminded of the real nature of the beasts to whom we are losing.

General Mark Clark, for instance, officially reported from Korea: "We obtained solid evidence that the Communists slaughtered 11,622 members of my U. N. Command while they were defenseless prisoners of war. These men were tied to their fellow prisoners and transported to previously selected sites. They were dumped alive into trenches dug for the purpose and summarily shot." About five thousand of those boys were from your home towns and mine. But how many of you ever saw that report in your headlines, or anywhere else?

During the so-called Spanish Civil War, the London Times (which then as now certainly was not slanted in favor of the anti-Communists) reported that in one twelve-months period the Communists had murdered over four thousand priests in cold blood; and had driven more than that many nuns out into the streets of various Spanish cities, inflicted horrible obscenities on them, and then murdered the nuns. In some places the Communists herded priests and their congregations into churches, set the churches on fire, and burned the Christians and their buildings together. These and similar epic cruelties of the period are facts documented beyond all question, but how many of you have ever heard them.

The man right now, today, holding the highest theoretical honor and office in the Soviet Union is Klimenti Voroshilov, Chairman of the Presidium and generally accorded the exalted if non-existent title of "President" of the Soviet Union. When eleven thousand Czarist officers, with their wives and children, surrendered the city of Kiev on the solemn promise -- a promise advanced to them by Voroshilov to induce this surrender -- that they would be allowed to disperse and go to their homes, Voroshilov had all of

the men and boys shot at once, and put the women and girls into brothels for his army. Far from ever repenting of this supreme piece of barbarism, fifteen years later Voroshilov boasted of it to American Ambassador William C. Bullitt, as one of the glorious highlights of his career; and he explained that, with regard to using the women for his "army's health," instead of shooting them, it didn't really matter because they were all dead within three months anyway.

The record of Nikita Khrushchev is infinitely worse. Mass murders totaling some twelve million victims can be charged directly to his orders. Bulganin, Menshikov, and the others are exactly the same. I could go on with specific and horrible illustrations, literally for hours. Nor has there been any slightest change in Communist methods or terrorism. Right now the Algerian Communist rebels, called the FLN, are perpetrating massive and incredible cruelties on their fellow Moslems in Algeria, in order to terrorize those natives into appearing to support this Communist-led guerilla insurrection and making it look like a civil war -- exactly as the Chinese Communists were performing mass tortures on the Chinese peasants for the same purpose a quarter of a century ago. Right now Sukarno's Communist goons, known as the SOBSI, are murdering in cold blood the Christianized natives of the Moluccan Islands just as ruthlessly as Stalin's troops murdered native Spaniards in 1935. Right now a Communist named Fidel Castro is trying to frighten off all opposition to himself in Cuba, by murders, burnings, and brutalities as cruel as any that the Russian Communists imposed on eastern Poland in 1940 -- or on East Germany in 1945. And exactly the same thing is going on in many other parts of the world.

All of this vicious and purposeful savagery I have been trying so inadequately even to indicate is not

something happening on some other and far-off planet, or perpetrated by the Assyrians twenty-five hundred years ago, or dreamed up as the imaginative nightmare of an Edgar Allan Poe. These, gentlemen, are the very real acts and deliberate policies, of the recent past and the very present, of people whom we treat as human beings, and with whom we sit around conference tables and arrive at truce terms and concessions to appease them.

There are some seven hundred million non-Russian non-Communists now living daily lives of virtual slavery behind the Iron Curtain, some forty million of them in the actual slave labor camps of Russia and Red China, who only a dozen years ago, or much less, enjoyed practically the same personal freedoms as do you and I today. These people now say to each other, but above all to themselves: "If I had only known! If I had only believed! There is no amount of work and sacrifice and suffering I would not have given, if I had only realized the necessity, the danger, in time. Now it is too late, and any amount of struggle and of sacrifice, even of life itself, is all in vain."

The number of people subject to these cruelties is now increasing by tens of millions every year, and we are directly in the path of the conqueror. Are we really so hopelessly blind, so stupefied by "prosperity" on one side and insidious propaganda on the other, that we cannot even see the wolves devouring the carcasses of our brothers or drawing ever nearer to ourselves? Are we going to let our country and our whole civilization go under, and new "Dark Ages" of serfdom be ushered in, while we happily play at our little games? May God forbid; but may we speedily become more worthy that he should.

In fact I wish to end this grim argument today on quite a religious note. For whether you believe it or not, we are far along in a gathering crisis that is go-

ing to make us all search deeply into our beliefs, and into the values and loyalties that motivate our actions. This is a world-wide battle, the first in history, between light and darkness; between freedom and slavery; between the spirit of Christianity and the spirit of anti-Christ for the souls and bodies of men. Let's win that battle by alertness, by determination, by courage, by an energizing realization of the danger, if we can; but let's win it even with our lives, if the time comes when we must. Let's even keep in mind, against that time, an inspiration which we hope we shall not need. It comes from the end of a great and stirring hymn, written to inspire men to fight against a far less extensive slavery of their fellow men.

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born
 across the sea,
With a glory in His bosom that transfigures
 you and me:
As He died to make men holy, let us die to
 make men free,
While God is marching on.

SECTION TWO

But Let's Look Deeper

Now if the danger from the Communist conspiracy were all we had to worry about, it would be enough. But every thinking and informed man senses that, even as cunning, as ruthless, and as determined as are the activists whom we call Communists with a capital "C", the conspiracy could never have reached its present extensiveness, and the gangsters at the head of it could never have reached their present power, unless there were tremendous weaknesses in the whole body of our civilization -- weaknesses to make the advance of such a disease so rapid and its ravages so disastrous. And this feeling is easily confirmed by observation. But to analyze and understand these weaknesses we have to go deeply into both the political history and the philosophical history of the human race. By your leave -- or perhaps I should say without it -- I am going to attempt that analysis. For we definitely need this understanding also, as background to the suggestions of program and of action which will eventually follow. I shall keep this exploration from being dry and boring, to the best of my ability. And I shall keep it as short as I well can.

In my opinion, the first great basic weakness of the United States, and hence its susceptibility to the disease of collectivism, is simply the age of the Western European civilization. And I am not being cryptic, clever, nor facetious, as I hope soon to make clear. Some of you will already have recog-

nized, in fact, that I am drawing a corollary to the conclusions usually connected with the name of Oswald Spengler. In actual fact there were many other scholars who, during the first decades of this century, supplied what were probably sounder studies and interpretations of the cyclic theory of cultures than did Spengler. But the concept has become so associated with his name that we might as well accept that identification. So let me put "Spengler's theory" in simple language, as concisely as I can.

Oswald Spengler was a very learned but very conceited German who wrote a book, first published in 1918, I believe, of which the title in the English translation was The Decline Of The West. A lot of its direct effectiveness was spoiled by the almost nauseating displays of erudition in which the book abounds. Chief Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes once called it "a marvelous humbug of a book," which description actually reveals more about that eternal sophomore, Holmes, than it does about the ostentatious scholar, Spengler.

And despite the way that Spengler overplayed his hand and overproved his point, a rather strange thing has happened. The so-called liberal scholars of the world completely demolished Spengler's arguments at once. And then they have kept right on returning to the task, and demolishing Spengler's thesis finally and for good, every year or two for the past forty years. For the convincing way in which Spengler's explanation fits the known facts of human history just would not let his conclusion be downed and forgotten -- any more than the convincing way in which Darwin's general theory fitted the known facts of animal life would let Darwin's theory be suppressed and ignored two generations earlier.

Until at last the international socialists, with the Fabians and Labor Party bosses in England taking

the lead, made one grand and lasting effort to have Spengler discredited by being overshadowed. They took a meretricious hack named Arnold J. Toynbee, who just by the intrinsic evidence of his own pages is one of the worst charlatans that ever lived; they had Toynbee interpret and rewrite history in such fashion as specifically to supplant Spengler's cyclic theory of cultures with Toynbee's half-baked nonsense; and then they -- the whole liberal establishment, especially of England and America -- gave Toynbee such favorable publicity and such a terrific build-up as no other historian, not even the socialist H. G. Wells, has ever enjoyed before. The result has been that today at least one thousand people are familiar with Toynbee's history, and have even read a few pages of it, to each one who has read Spengler and knows what he tried to say.

Those who are familiar with the way in which Stalin won out in his contest with Trotsky, in the years 1924 to 1929, will recognize the similarity of the technique used. Stalin, who was in complete charge of all media of communication in Russia during those years, never actually suppressed, nor even refused to allow to be published, any pamphlets by, or favorable to, Trotsky. He merely held the press run and distribution of all such pamphlets down to a few thousand, on the ground that the demand didn't justify any more; while pamphlets by himself or others, condemning Trotsky, were printed and distributed in huge quantities all over Russia. Incidentally, it is the same typically Communist technique which was used by the Fund For The Republic, when they printed and distributed thirty-five thousand copies of Erwin Griswold's straining pedantry in defense of the Fifth Amendment pleaders; and then printed and distributed one thousand copies of Dickerman Williams' answer to Griswold's nonsense, in order to show how

fairminded they were.

But I am getting off the track. Which is that, due to all this huge buildup of Arnold Toynbee as a philosopher-historian, almost any American or Englishman who happened to take a notion, for some reason, to go digging into world history from a philosophical viewpoint -- or just from sheer curiosity -- would certainly turn to Toynbee, would never have heard of Spengler, and hence would have no chance to learn Spengler's ideas. And all of this introduction to those ideas has not been wasted, I hope. For it does emphasize this fact. Spengler's theory is absolutely fatal to the acceptance of socialism or any form of collectivism as a forward step, or as a form of progress, in man's sociological arrangements. For in Spengler's view collectivism is a disease of society, concomitant with decay, and remarkably similar to cancer in the individual.

Basically, when you dig through the chaff and the dressing in Spengler enough to get at his thought, he held that a societal development which we ordinarily classify as a civilization is an organic culture, which goes through a life cycle just the same as any of the individual organisms which we see whole and with which we are more familiar. It has been many years since I have read Spengler, so I do not know how far I am wandering from his own specific or exact thinking, in trying to present his central theme. There is certainly more Welch than there is Spengler in what follows. But the easiest way to make the theme clear is to illustrate the life of a civilization as a parallel to the life of an individual man.

You then find, that of the some twenty-one or twenty-two civilizations which we know enough about to discuss intelligently, some were struck down while in middle age and reasonable health, by an enemy, as was the Neo-Babylonian Civilization by

Darius, for instance; just the same as an individual man might be shot by an enemy, or run over by a street car. Another, like the Carthaginian, never was able to attain its full normal growth and strength, because of the overwhelming competition, for sustenance and lebensraum, of a too close, too powerful, and too greedy a rival, namely Rome -- which must have been the case for many a man, in the barbarian settings of our evolution. And another, like the Assyrian, could almost be said to have died of a heart attack, it went to pieces so suddenly and so completely in the middle stage of an apparently successful and healthy existence. There were factors of weakness inside the body which caused it to drop almost exactly like a man whose heart suddenly kicks up and then quits altogether twenty minutes later.

The real point, however, is this. An individual human being may die of any number of causes. But if he escapes the fortuitous diseases, does not meet with any fatal accident, does not starve to death, does not have his heart give out, but lives in normal health to his three score years and ten and then keeps on living -- if he escapes or survives everything else and keeps on doing so, he will eventually succumb to the degenerative disease of cancer. For death must come, and cancer is merely death coming by stages, instead of all at once. And exactly the same thing seems to be true of those organic aggregations of human beings, which we called cultures or civilizations.

The individual cells in a human body die and are replaced by new ones constantly. Only when and where cancer attacks a part of the body are the dead ones not replaced by new cells which contribute their share of strength to the body as a whole. The individual human beings in an organic culture die and are replaced constantly by new ones. But even if the

culture escapes enemy conquest and accidents of nature and starvation and all the fortuitous diseases -- such as the internal bleeding which almost destroyed Europe at the time of the Reformation and the Thirty Years War -- death will still come eventually, and usually a lingering death, through the degenerative disease of collectivism. For collectivism destroys the value to the organism of the individual cells -- that is, the individual human beings -- without replacing them with new ones with new strength. The Roman Empire of the West, for instance, started dying from the cancer of collectivism from the time Diocletian imposed on it his New Deal. And while it was given the coup de grace by the barbarians a hundred and seventy-five years later, it had already been so weakened by this cancer that the city of Rome itself had been an easy prey to Alaric more than sixty years before its final fall.

Now how really exact or how valid this parallel between the lives of human individuals and the lives of their well integrated aggregations may be, I don't know. I certainly do not have either the knowledge or the inclination to support whatever belief Spengler may have had that there was actually a biological compulsion for a social organism to follow a life cycle similar to that of the individual. But no such rigid crystallization of the thought is at all necessary. For whether fatalistically determined by biological principles or not, there is an analogy between the two which is inescapable. And even if it is nothing more than a useful analogy, subject to all of the flaws and possible exceptions which may mar any analogy, it leads automatically to conclusions which are devastating to socialist theory. For it is perfectly evident, right in the cases of the very civilizations that we know most about, that both the Greek and the Roman civilizations did perish of the cancer of col-

lectivism, and that the civilization of Western Europe is doing so today.

Now it is even possible to establish a fairly accurate time ratio for this analogy or parallel. It runs about twenty to one. In other words a civilization fourteen hundred years old would be at the physical stage in its life cycle, roughly, of a man of seventy. And with that yardstick in mind we can now come at last to take the look at Western Europe which I have been trying to make worth while; and after that the look at America which is the real goal of all this preparation.

The civilization of Western Europe arose out of the ashes of the Roman Empire of the West. If we try to establish any approximation to a birthdate, the analogy becomes sloppy. For actually the parallel is much closer to that of an oak tree which has been felled, but which still scatters acorns that sprout long afterwards. But if we still stick to the analogy of a man nevertheless, we might consider that, after a long gestation period, an entity which could eventually become Western European Civilization was born in the time of Charlemagne. The boy had reached the strutting, stick-throwing stage at the time of the Crusades; the stage of growing intellectual curiosity in the Renaissance; the stage of youthful adventure in the ocean explorations of the fifteenth century; and then three centuries, or the equivalent of fifteen years for a man, of the most solid accomplishments of a hard-working, hard-thinking middle age.

None of these comparisons will quite hold water, and I don't know whether Spengler could have postulated some that would or not. But after all shortcomings of the allegory are recognized, the fact remains that Western Europe of the last half of the nineteenth century was remarkably similar to a man of some sixty-five years of age who had led an ex-

tremely busy life of great stresses and strains, but an extremely successful life, nevertheless, of mental growth, physical accomplishments, and material acquisitions. The old man had weathered every danger, had stood all the bludgeonings of fate, and had come out, at that age, with a tremendous accumulation of knowledge, experience, material possessions, and prestige among his neighbors -- the other civilizations or societal organizations of the rest of the planet.

In fact, in my amateurish opinion, the last half of the nineteenth century A. D., like the first half of the sixth century B. C. before it, was the high-water mark up to its time of human civilization, accomplishment, and hope for the future. And it was Western Europe which made that last half of the nineteenth century the period of the highest level to which man has yet climbed in his struggle to reach an enlightened and humane life.

But, as so often happens for the individual, by the time Western Europe had the knowledge, the wealth, and the ability to get the most out of life, it was ready to die. The truth is that, by a cycle which seems inevitable whether it is a biological reality or only an analogy, Western Europe was worn out. And under those circumstances the degenerative disease of collectivism, the cancer of social organizations, began its peripheral infiltration.

Not only the early beginnings of the disease, but the certainty of its slowly increasing ravages, and the eventual fatal effect of its ultimately advanced stages, were clearly visible to the genius of Herbert Spencer as early as the middle of the century. And by the time Bismarck, forming that alliance of the autocratic top of society with the greedy masses at the bottom, which is so commonplace in history, began to crystallize the nebulous theories of the

Marxists and other modern socialists into the welfare legislation of Germany of the 1880's; by that time the disease was starting to eat its way further into the body in disastrous fashion. Its ravages continued, increased, and spread, until today Western Europe is so sick and weakened from the collectivism in its body and veins that it can never recover.

This doesn't mean that, in the normal course of events, Europe will soon become a desolate waste, while the monuments of its former kings lie toppled and forgotten where the lone and level sands stretch far away. Even when an individual is dying of cancer, there are periods of apparent recovery or improvement, and even times when some organs of the body seem as strong, healthy, and invulnerable to the disease as ever. Also, I must emphasize again that there are many points -- such as the doubtful transmissibility of cancer itself to individuals, through either contagion or environment -- at which there are apparent flaws in the analogy which would take more time than we can spare here to put in their proper light. And sticking to the historical parallels for the minute, rather than the biological one, it is clear that even hundreds of years after the fall of the Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Persian civilizations in the Tigris-Euphrates stretches of Western Asia, the subjects of the Sassanid dynasty and other lesser offsprings of those once great civilizations led lives that were perhaps happy, and that certainly were important to themselves. I am sure that, likewise, it will be a long time before the lizards run undisturbed over the toppled ruins of the Arc de Triomphe, or London Bridge is allowed to fall, unreconstructed, into the waters of the Thames.

But our analysis does mean that the entity which was Western Europe; the social organism which was so closely knit and so well integrated despite its

national boundaries, languages, and jealousies; the Western Europe whose parts were so intertwined that Napoleon of France could marry the daughter of the Emperor of Austria to help one of his brothers to rule Spain and another brother to rule Holland; the Western Europe which could spare the strength to spread its pioneers to colonize the uninhabited lands, and its pookah sahibs to bring civilized rule to the settled natives, on all the continents of earth -- that Western Europe of the nineteenth century can never come back. It is either dying before our eyes, or is already dead. For the vigor of its muscles and the strength of its whole body have been sapped beyond recovery by the cancer of collectivism.

Now, lest I seem to be putting too much dependence in an analogy which is full of holes, let me just very briefly make a more matter-of-fact approach towards the same conclusion. For regardless of any organic cycle which may be involved, it is perfectly visible and incontrovertible that the rugged pioneer settlers of a new land want as little government as possible; that as the new society becomes more settled, as population grows, as commerce and/or industry increase, as the society grows older, more and more government creeps in. And then, because demagogues find it to their personal advantage, they use trickery, persuasion, and bribery of the people with their own money, to make the rate of increase in the quantity and reach of government far greater than the rate of increase in either the population or the justifiable need for government. So that by the time any society which has been so originated and fashioned has reached a thick population, comparative wealth, and considerable age, enough government has already been imposed on the people to constitute the beginnings of collectivism.

This happened to the people who settled the islands

and founded the city states of Greece. It happened to their descendants who settled the Italian peninsula and founded the Roman Empire. It happened to their spiritual descendants who built the Western European civilization. And it is certainly happening to their descendants who founded and have built the American Republic.

With the next inevitable stage, after advanced collectivism has destroyed the vigor of any such society -- which is its break-up into feudal units and the accompanying serfdom -- we are not concerned here. But what we are concerned with is the time usually involved in these successive developments. It is this question of the speed of the movement around the arc, from pioneer to serf, or of the various stages of the movement, to which this whole present discussion has been leading. And purely for the sake of simplicity and clarity, I hope you will let me go back to my analogy, even if you now regard it only as a figure of speech.

For the whole point is that the Greek civilization was at least many centuries old -- that is, many centuries removed from its pioneer days -- before Pericles started it on the road to death, at the very height of its glory, through making the government increasingly responsible for its citizens, instead of its citizens being responsible for, and watchdogs over, their government. Rome was already over a thousand years from the days of Romulus and Remus when Diocletian's reign signalized the advance of collectivism beyond the point of any possible recovery. Western Europe was, by a most conservative method of figuring its age, at least eleven to twelve hundred years old before the disease of collectivism began to bring it to its deathbed. Or we even know enough today to go back in the other direction, where we find that the first Babylonian civili-

zation also was at least a thousand years old before collectivism had become sufficiently prevalent for Hammurabi to formalize it as the New Deal of his era.

Now -- in view of all of that, take a look at what has happened to America. It's true that the same thing has also happened to most of the other former British colonies, such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, but that is not our concern here; and there was a little more justification for it anyway, because they remained more closely tied to England. But the United States was not only a new and completely independent country. It was, by any measure of appraisal, the seat of a whole new civilization.

There are few parallels in history more striking than the way Italy was settled by Greek pioneers, who simply took over from the aborigines already there, and developed the new nation and new civilization of Rome, and the way America was settled by pioneers from Western Europe who developed a new nation and a new civilization here. In its earlier centuries America not only did not regard itself as a part of the European organism at all, but became fiercely proud of its differences from Europe, and of its indigenously vigorous customs, culture, and destiny of its own. The American civilization was every bit as much of an entirely new and different civilization from the old and ancestral one of Western Europe, as was Rome a new civilization distinct from Greece.

And this American civilization, at the turn of the present century, was only three hundred years old. It had the strength and vigor and promise of a healthy young man in his late teens. There was no reason on earth for any such organism to be attacked by, and start succumbing to, the cancerous disease of collectivism at that stage of its young manhood, with

its whole lifespan of accomplishment before it. And any of the natural or fortuitous attempts of the disease to get a foothold in the American social body -- such as the virus implanted by Edward Bellamy with his Looking Backward, or by Upton Sinclair with his Jungle, or even the more pretentious concoctions of Thorstein Veblen -- would have been so easily repulsed by the strong and growing organism that none of them would have left even a scar.

But we have the cancerous disease of collectivism firmly implanted now, nevertheless. We have people feeling that nothing should be done by them, but everything for them, by the government. Its disastrous ravages are quite far advanced. And we have it, basically, because of too long and too close an association with a parent that was dying of the disease; that was old enough and weakened enough for the virus to be rampantly active throughout this parent's whole environment.

When Woodrow Wilson, cajoled and guided even then by the collectivists of Europe, took us into the first World War, while solemnly swearing that he would never do so, he did much more than end America's great period of happy and wholesome independence of Europe. He put his healthy young country in the same house, and for a while in the same bed, with this parent who was already yielding to the collectivist cancer. We never got out of that house again. We were once more put back even in the same bed by Franklin D. Roosevelt, also while lying in his teeth about his intentions, and we have never been able to get out of that bed since.

In the meantime, the closer our relationship with this parent civilization has become, and the more exposed to the unhealthy air and the raging virus of the sick room we have been, the sicker and more morbidly diseased has the patient become. Until now,

there is a tremendous question whether, even if we did not have the Communist conspirators deliberately helping to spread the virus for their own purposes, we could recover from just the natural demagogue-fed spread of that virus when it is already so far advanced. With the Communists skillfully using and encouraging the disease as a means of weakening us, the outlook leads ever more irresistibly to despondency and despair. And we simply cannot overlook or underrate the prevalence of this disease in our vitals -- entirely aside from the way the Communists agitate the affected parts and make the disease worse -- in any sound thinking or constructive plans for the future of America.

But -- if I thought all hope were gone I wouldn't be here, and neither would you. Let's leave the Communist disease-carriers out of the picture for a minute. I knew a man who, when he was around fifty, and still otherwise a very healthy fifty, was found by the doctors to have cancer already far advanced in ~~one side of his jaw.~~ They took that side of his jaw, and practically half his face, right away from him at once. And when I first got to know him, at least ten years later, he had a very peculiar looking face, it is true; but otherwise he was a grand example of both mental and physical health for a man of sixty-five; and he was very happily teaching his lifetime subject as a professor at one of our most famous universities. Probably all of you have known somewhat similar cases. And it is certain that in those very rare cases where a healthy young man of twenty-five does, in some way, contract cancer, a sufficiently accurate diagnosis and sufficiently drastic surgery can restore him to health and enable him to go on and live out a normal, active, successful and happy life. But it can't be done by half measures.

Now what I have been trying so long and so hard

to say comes to this. We have got to stop the Communists, for many reasons. One reason is to keep them from agitating our cancerous tissues, reimplanting the virus, and working to spread it, so that we never have any chance of recovery. And stopping the Communists is the most urgently important task before us, which we are going to talk about plenty at this meeting. But even in stopping them, or in our efforts to do so, we cannot forget for a minute the disease which has enabled them to go so far, weaken us so much, and become so dangerous to us. Nor can we forget for a minute the imperative need of excising and stopping the disease itself, while we are stopping and after we have stopped the Communists, or we shall merely die a somewhat slower and more lingering national death than if we let the Communists destroy us in the first place.

Push the Communists back, get out of the bed of a Europe that is dying with this cancer of collectivism, and breathe our own healthy air of opportunity, enterprise, and freedom; then the cancer we already have, even though it is of considerable growth, can be cut out. And despite the bad scars and the loss of some muscles, this young, strong, great new nation, restored to vigor, courage, ambition, and self-confidence, can still go ahead to fulfill its great destiny, and to become an even more glorious example for all the earth than it ever was before. It should be centuries from now before the natural time comes for the decline of America, and for the highest torch of civilization to be taken over by the rising newer nations to the West. But we do have to achieve the sufficiently drastic surgery; and that of course is a Herculean task. We shall return to a study of it when we come to the more positive part of this program.

SECTION THREE

And Deeper Still

Now, gentlemen, in looking thoroughly and realistically at the danger to everything we have inherited, spiritual as well as material, and at the cause of that danger, we come to the second of the fundamental reasons for deep and basic anxiety. And putting that matter bluntly at once, the reason is simply loss of faith. Not just loss of faith in God and all his works but loss of faith in man and his works too, in his reasons for existence, in his purposes, and in his hopes.

Now I know that there are still millions of devout Catholics, fundamentalist Protestants, and faithful Jews in this country who still believe unquestioningly in the divine truths and powers which their Bibles reveal to them, and whose conduct and relations with their fellow men are guided strictly by the precepts of their religious faith--- or who at least feel that they have sinned whenever they have transgressed such precepts as understood by their consciences. I have hundreds of good friends in those categories, including some in this room.

Let all of us thank whatever God we severally worship that there is so large a remnant of the really true believers still left. We honor them. We need their steady adherence to the rock of reverence, and their aspiration of unwavering obedience to ancient and divine commandments. We desperately need their unshakable confidence in absolutes, in eternal principles and truths, in a world of increasing rela-

tivity and transitoriness in all things. We admire them. In fact, as will become more clear tomorrow, the young man I admire most of all of those America has produced was a fundamentalist Baptist missionary named John Birch. My own obsession with this fight against the increasing forces of evil in the world, which -- as already explained -- has caused me to give up business career and income and any prospect of ever having any peace or leisure again during my lifetime, is due in large part to my admiration for John Birch; to my feeling that I simply had to pick up and carry, to the utmost of my ability and energy, the torch of a humane righteousness which he was carrying so well and so faithfully when the Communists struck him down.

The true fundamentalists in our midst, whether Catholics, Protestants or Jews, are the moral salt of the earth -- of an increasingly savorless earth where such salt is like a stream of clear water in a desert. And nothing I say now, nor any of the plans I outline tomorrow, is intended to question, weaken, or disturb any fundamentalist faith in the slightest; or to discount one iota its tremendous worth as a core of strength for all that we might hope to do.

But -- we must not let our admiration for, dependence on, and feeling of spiritual kinship with, the fundamentalists, blind us to the visible fact that their number grows smaller every year. Among the people literate enough and ambitious enough to be activists in Europe and America; that is, among the leaders of all levels and in all segments of society, from a factory foreman to the chairman of a political party, whose total influence determines what gets done, what the masses think, and which way community, state, or nation moves on the ideological parade ground; among this ten percent or thirty percent of the population, or whatever the percentage

may be, those who are honestly true believers, in a faith which most of them still profess, is an ever smaller minority. It becomes increasingly smaller with every senior class at colleges now turn out, with every novel of the Peyton Place or By Love Possessed type which the hundreds of thousands read, and with the impact of many of the television programs which millions of viewers see.

What is far worse, fully one-third of the services in at least the Protestant churches of America are helping that trend. For the ministers themselves are not true believers in the Divine Names or the Divine History and Divine Teachings to which they give lip service, as they go through their conventional motions on Sunday mornings. Some have merely watered down the faith of our fathers, and of theirs, into an innocuous philosophy instead of an evangelistic religion. Some have converted Christianity into a so-called "social gospel," that bypasses all questions of dogma with an indifference which is comfortable to both themselves and their parishioners; and which "social gospel" becomes in fact indistinguishable from advocacy of the welfare state by socialist politicians. And some actually use their pulpits to preach outright Communism, often in very thin disguise if any, while having the hypocrisy as atheists to thank God in public for their progressive apostasy.

It may shock the Protestants among you to have all of these things said out loud, but you know in your hearts that they are true. It is also true that while later, perhaps slower, and not yet so far advanced in some of these cases, the same trend of worldly disillusionment and loss of true faith is visible among Catholics, among Jews, among Moslems, among Buddhists, and among the formerly devout believers of every great religion of the world.

We must not only know the truth, but face the truth, if it is to set us free or to keep us so. And the fundamental truth of our times, gentlemen, as distinguished from the fundamentalist truth, is just this. Except for the diminishing number of fundamentalists of all religions, and the increasing but still comparatively small percentage of the human race which has fervently accepted Communism as a religion, all faith has been replaced, or is rapidly being replaced, by a pragmatic opportunism with hedonistic aims. And what a fall that is for a race which can boast of once having listened to a St. Augustine, a St. Francis of Assisi, a John Milton, or an Alfred Tennyson. The further and more specific manifestation of that fundamental truth is that in Western Europe and America today we are living in a spiritual vacuum, exactly as were the Romans after they had lost any real faith in their pagan gods and before the rise of Christianity.

In the middle of the nineteenth century Lord Tennyson, with one of the greatest and most rational minds, at the very apex of the enlightenment achieved by the Western European Civilization, could still write with complete conviction:

"Our little systems have their day;
They have their day and cease to be:
They are but broken lights of Thee,
And Thou, O Lord, art more than they."

Compare that with the acutely cynical flippancy of a current gem, which goes something as follows:

"A life force afflicted with doubt,
As to what its own being was about,
Said: "The truth I can't find,
But I'm creating a mind,

Which may be able to figure it out."

And in that comparison you can see the magnitude of our loss, as to a base for our morals, our purposes, and our aspirations.

For the next part of the truth we must face is that for the past several hundred years our morality, in Europe and America, was tied to a belief in the rewards and punishments delineated by Christian dogma; to the accepted commandments of a very real and very majestic deity; and to the desire of the true believer to become worthy of the love of an omniscient living God. The reality and earnestness of Christian faith was the foundation of our ethics, and the substance of our consciences. When Voltaire said that if God did not exist we should have to invent him, it was a very blasphemous remark but a very penetrating one, as to the dependence at that time of morals, humanitarianism, and purposes on what has since come to be called the anthropomorphic conception -- that is, a God in whose image man himself was created.

Now the trouble is that, in the minds of a vast majority of worshippers, their God had become too close, too concretely defined, and all the details of heaven and hell and of their God's creation and rule of the earth itself had become too vividly and too rigidly put in place. This whole framework of belief could not withstand the sheer facts and convincing rationalizations of the scientific revolution. When Herbert Spencer relegated his own Divine Being to the infinitely remote and impersonal classification of a First Cause, those increasing thousands of intelligent human beings who followed his convincing analyses found that the celestial palace they had built in their minds began to look empty, unnecessary, and perhaps ridiculous. And by the time Ernest Haeckel

came to write his Riddle Of The Universe, that palace and all the foundations of dogma and doctrine which supported it were crumbling into tragic ruins.

For our fathers and their religious preceptors had become too specific and too finite in their beliefs about the Infinite; too egocentric and almost patronizing in their adoption of a Deity as Himself somehow created primarily to be a Father to man. When I went to Sunday School in a country Baptist Church fifty years ago I was taught, with a huge chart on the wall to reinforce the teaching and emphasize its accuracy, that the world was created in 4004 B. C. And I am sure that chart had been drawn, and those Sunday School lessons written, by good Christians who devoutly believed their own teachings.

A religious faith had somehow come to rest its case in the minds of men on these and similar minute and unjustified projections of its more important certainties. As increasing knowledge of history and science made it more and more impossible for the intelligent mind to accept the projections, the more general and deeper articles of faith began to lose their hold as well. But these deeper articles of faith were, for most men, the straw with which were built the bricks of their consciences. Without this straw the bricks either did not get built at all, or were shoddy and insecure against the erosion of opportunism or the onslaughts of temptation.

Through many centuries Christianity, despite all of its splits and schisms, supplied the fabric of morality for the whole Western World -- through its threats of punishments, promises of rewards, and the humanizing effect of its proffered love by and for a Divine Father. But despite all the billions of words that have been written to the contrary, that fabric is now pierced and torn and weakened beyond needed dependability. For a vast majority of those who proclaim themselves

Christians today, and attend church services, do not really and literally believe in either the punishments, the rewards, or even in the physical and biological existence of a Divine Father with any interest in their personal lives and actions. The momentum of a former belief, and the customs which grew out of it, still have great value. But the fabric is worn too thin to have its old effectiveness.

Now please do not jump to any conclusions that I want to see Christianity denied, discarded, or even further weakened, in the slightest. Exactly the opposite is true, as I hope to make clear when we come back to this subject from the constructive side tomorrow. But I am not in favor of trying to reimpose all or any of the strands of a fundamentalist faith on those whose reason, whether right or wrong, has honestly told them that we cannot know such positive things about the Unknowable. For that would be like trying to tie the waves of the ocean together with ropes, or to confine them with fishing nets.

But I believe there is a broader and more encompassing faith to which we can all subscribe, without any of us doing the slightest violation to the more specific doctrines of his own creed or altars of his own devotion. And I believe it is an ennobling conception, equally acceptable to the most fundamentalist Christian or the most rationalistic idealist, because its whole purport is to strengthen and synthesize the ennobling characteristics of each man and the ennobling impulses of his own personal religion. It is a conception which the Baptist John Birch, the Catholic Hilaire Belloc, and the agnostic Thomas Jefferson would alike have welcomed. And in the short time we can give to so mighty a subject, in this particular program, I shall return to it tomorrow to the extent necessary for its place in my immediate proposals. What I am trying to do now is

merely to make a realistic appraisal of our weaknesses, because without doing so we can only dissipate our remaining strength in trying to build fortifications and temples on sinking mud or shifting sand.

For not only is this loss of reinforcing faith in the cement of our morals a weakness in itself of immense significance, but like all of our weaknesses it has been pounced upon by the Communists, and used and made worse by them with great skill and determination for their own purposes. When an individual American, or any other human being, sees himself as no longer responsible to a Divine Being, but as merely a living accident, not connected in any way with cosmological purpose, it becomes far easier for him to make his decisions about his own life and actions entirely on the basis of his temporal comforts and the earthly desires of his own personality. If he is the kind of man that wants financial success for the ease, or leisure and travel, or the prestige which it supposedly brings (and sometimes does), he is not going to buck Communist pressures in any way that will endanger that success or handicap his progress. If he is imbued with ambition for power, he is more readily inclined to get on the Communist bandwagon, if that seems to be the surest road to power (as it certainly does to a great many Americans today). The Communists are able to use this lack of moral stamina among their enemies in a thousand ways to make their own progress easier and the conquest of those enemies more rapid.

The most terrible result of this collapse of the rock of faith on which our morality was built is the rise of the amoral man -- of which the usual Communist himself is the most illustrative example. For an amoral man, like Stalin, is infinitely worse, from the point of view of a humanitarian civilization,

than an immoral one like Hitler. An immoral man may lie, steal, and murder; the worst of them even without any seeming limit or hesitation. But it hurts his conscience. He is, at least potentially, susceptible to humanitarian or moral considerations, to some extent, and if they are present cogently enough to him. There is even the possibility always that he may sometime, or in some ways, repent and make what amends he can for his crimes.

An amoral man, however, has simply wiped out his conscience, along with any reason for its existence. He is not immoral, even when performing coldblooded mass murders, because to him there is no such thing as either morality or immorality. There is only the pragmatic consideration of the advantages or disadvantages to himself, for his own personal desires or plans, in any action -- whether it be the building of a monument or the murder of his wife. And these amoral men, the products of a materialistic and sophomoric disillusionment, who have not yet gone on in their thinking to deeper and more permanent truths, now stalk in our midst in greater numbers than ever before in history. Such men, among the Communists, and they are plentiful and highly placed, have no real dedication even to Communism. They regard it merely as an expedient means to satisfy their personal ambitions more nearly than would any other star to which they might hitch their wagons.

But on our own side of the fence, among the millions who either are, or pretend to be, non-Communists, the amoral man, who has no slightest inner concern with right or wrong, is one of the greatest causes of our constant retreat, and one of the greatest dangers to our survival. And he doesn't wear any label. He usually lives up to the appearance of excellent morals, because it is expedient for his purposes, and you will usually find him in church

on Sunday morning, maybe even a Catholic church. But as a member of the United States Senate, running for the presidency, and smart enough to know the strong Communist support behind-the-scenes which he will have to get in order to have any chance of being nominated in 1960, such an amoral man can do a tremendous amount of ball-carrying on behalf of the Communist aims here in the United States; and he can do an almost equal amount of damage to anti-Communist morale in other parts of the world, by his well-publicized speeches against Chiang Kai-shek or in favor of the Algerian rebels. Or an amoral man, as the head of a great so-called Republic, may have no slightest scruples or concern about its fate or the fate of other nations, in the face of Communist conquest and of the cruel tyranny of their rule. And any similarity of characters in this story to any living persons is not coincidental.

As to the more normal run of men, whose consciences have been weakened but not abolished by their loss of faith, I tried to cover the various ways many of them are converted into Communists, or are made to do Communist bidding, by many different kinds of appeals, pressures, and proselytizing, in an article entitled Why People Become Communists. There are reprints of it in the little packets for each of you that I brought with me, and I hope that those who have not already read the article may be willing to do so. For the answers given there, although put together by such an amateur as myself, have been passed on by experts like J. B. Matthews as being authentic. And these reasons why apparently sane and normal Americans join up with the Communists give a part of the present picture which it is important for us to keep in mind in connection with all that we plan and do. But we couldn't take time to go into that complex field here, even if I had

not already covered it to the best of my ability in the article which is available.

For the chief point of this whole present section of our discussion is a more general one. It runs parallel to the main point in connection with the extent to which the cancer of collectivism has weakened and endangered us. It is that, as important and absolutely vital as our stopping the Communists has become, and as much as our loss of moral fibre is now deliberately made more rapid and more damaging by the Communists for their present and future purposes, even throwing the Communists completely out of the picture would not stop the fatal deterioration in our sense of values which is now in process. Besides the short-term job of eliminating the Communist danger -- and Herculean as that job may be, it has to be done in a short term or it can't be done at all -- we have the equally important longer-range job of ending this mass psychological flight towards amorality; and of restoring convincing reasons for men once again to strive to live up to moral and humanitarian ideals. Otherwise, there is no chance of saving our Christian-style civilization from self-destruction; and it will merely go down to chaos, and the ultimate serfdom of the weak under the strong, more lingeringly than if it is destroyed and its once-free members are enslaved by the Communists.

But whereas stopping the disease of collectivism is a matter of honest diagnosis and drastic surgery, this equally gigantic problem is one of restoration rather than of removal. We have to find something to live for, gentlemen, that is greater than ourselves, or we surely fall back from the semi-civilized level of existence, which man has laboriously achieved, into a moral jungle and its inevitably concomitant intellectual darkness. I tried to put the picture of where we are heading in a sonnet to my good friend

Alfred Noyes about a year ago -- and fortunately a few months before he died. Because it summarizes, as concisely and as expressively as I know how, the outlook I have been trying to define, I am asking your leave to read it at this point.

TO ALFRED NOYES

As after Rome, now once again the drapes
Of ignorance and bigotry and lust
May close upon the scene. Insentient dust
Will bury the forgotten stage. And apes
Who know not man, his glory and his dreams,
His wish to be more worthy of his God,
Will stalk the earth and wield the brutal
rod,
And stamp upon each tiny light that gleams.
Amid the dull collective monotone
Of universal serfdom will be lost
The memory of song and singer. Prone
~~And helpless~~, soon, upon the rubbish
tossed,
Will die the Muse. Let us rejoice to own
This one great poet more before the
holocaust.

And it is not only the muse of poetry that will die of abuse and neglect, if man's loss of faith in there being anything in the universe worth while except his appetites is permitted to continue. But we do not have to let it continue. Before our very eyes lie all the incentives man needs to set him back on the road of striving towards moral perfection, true intellectual greatness, civilized relationships, and eternal hope for a still better and greater future, which seemed to him to be such natural goals a hundred years ago. Making those incentives understood, and giving con-

temporary man a renewed faith in himself, in his destiny, and in a still greater God than was recognized and worshipped by his ancestors, is a task for myriads of dedicated individuals over generations of time. We can only contribute all we are able to its proper beginning. But without such a goal and purpose all of our efforts simply to stop Communism, or to destroy an ephemeral conspiracy of gangsters, are not only doomed to failure. Even if successful they would but postpone the days of darkness for our children, for their children, and for a race of men that once knew the light.

We shall return to the constructive side of this need and this undertaking in the morning.

SECTION FOUR

And So, Let's Act

Now, gentlemen, let's start retracing our steps. We began by looking at the actual scoreboard of the Communist advance; and by seeing clearly, I hope, how very far that advance has already gone and how imminent and horrible is the danger of the physical enslavement of the whole world, including ourselves. We then went on to the two basic -- and related -- underlying problems and dangers which threaten us more slowly, but with results which would be just as fatal.

We come now to the question of what is to be done about these problems. Because we should take first things first, and the Communist threat certainly has priority as a danger to be faced, we are going to discuss, probably for the rest of this afternoon, a proposed action program against the Communist conspiracy. And so that you will not think I am entirely crazy, let me point out my awareness of the fact that some parts of this program would require resources and organization utterly beyond anything now available to us. Raising such resources and building such organization is not only a necessary part of the program itself, but certainly one of the most difficult. Do not think, on the one hand, that I have some magic wand for bringing such resources and organization into existence; nor, on the other, that the job has simply been ignored. We have to be realists in this war, or we are wasting our time. And a realist does not run away from parts of a

problem or close his eyes to them because they are the most difficult parts.

So we'll come to that subject in due course, with the results of at least a lot of thought that has been given to it. But we can't cover everything at once. I hope, therefore, that you will be willing simply to put to one side, temporarily, this question of where resources and organization would come from, while we consider strategy and tactics for the fight itself.

Now the very first thing we must realize is that there is no easy formula possible, nor brilliant scheme devisable, for beating the Communists. Communism is not like a poison to which you simply find the antidote. Its present power and extensiveness has not been created by some grand formula that swept the world, but by the sum total -- by integration, in the mathematical sense -- of an almost infinite number of details done well from the Communist point of view. There has been brilliant control and coordination, by central authority, of the efforts of millions of men who have been brought, by one means or another, to dedicate themselves, body and soul, to separate tiny pieces of the job.

As a result of this forty years of cumulative effort, the conspiracy is now incredibly well organized. It is so well financed that it has billions of dollars annually just to spend on propaganda. It has the benefit of decades of successful experience. It has one set goal, of world rule by any means, to which every act and all of the lives of some forty million Party members are now wholly subservient. And it is guided by men who had to have supreme cunning and ruthlessness to have achieved their present positions within the conspiracy itself.

This octopus is so large that its tentacles now reach into all of the legislative halls, all of the union labor meetings, a majority of the religious

gatherings, and most of the schools of the whole world. It has a central nervous system which can make its tentacles in the labor unions of Bolivia, in the farmer's co-operatives of Saskatchewan, in the caucuses of the Social Democrats of West Germany, and in the class rooms of the Yale Law School, all retract or reach forward simultaneously. It can make all of these creeping tentacles turn either right or left, or a given percentage turn right while the others turn left, at the same time, in accordance with the intentions of a central brain in Moscow or Ust'-Kamenogorsk. The human race has never before faced any such monster of power which was determined to enslave it. There is certainly no reason for under-rating its size, its efficiency, its determination, its power, or its menace.

But -- there is one basic consideration of tremendous importance which we must keep always in mind. This is that Communism has been imposed, and must always be imposed, from the top down, by trickery and terror; and that it must then be maintained by terror. In other words, at least ninety-five percent of all the human beings, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, do not want Communism. The job is not to unsell a majority from something they want or think is good for them, but to enable a preponderant majority to resist and refuse something they do not want. Truth, reality, human instinct, and the overwhelming weight of human desire are on our side. We have these points in our favor, against a conspiracy which must depend on falsehood, cunning, and terror, utilized by less than five percent of the total population. To feel that we cannot win that struggle is a form of pessimism to which I, for one, shall never yield.

In fact I know, from compulsions of human behavior which history makes clear, that the human

race will throw off this tyranny just as surely as the Greek world, led by Athens, threw off a very similar tyranny imposed by fascist Sparta; or as the French people, in a much more minute parallel, put an end to the reign of terror which was the climax of the French Revolution. The question is when? How far and how long will the Communist conspiracy keep moving forward successfully, before it is overthrown and scattered to the winds of history? How deeply and irrevocably will we have been infected and ravaged by the disease of collectivism, in the poisoned air of which Communism thrives, before the ghouls have been routed? How much of the free world can still be saved from the horror of the Communist seizures? Or -- and this is entirely likely, gentlemen -- even if the Conspirators reach a precarious moment when they seem to have the whole world in their grip, how soon thereafter can the thin shell of terroristic power be blown to bits, and how much of our civilization saved from damage beyond repair?

These questions do not lead to defeatism. Nor do they lead to optimism, except of a long-range, patient, and most resolute variety. But they do lead to a realization that this war against the Communist tyranny not only must go on, but will go on, with us or without us, until that tyranny is finally overthrown. The socialist ideology may eventually destroy our whole civilization, through erosion and stagnation -- though I think even that can and will be prevented. But the criminal activists headed by the gangsters in the Kremlin will not survive to survey the damage they have done. Of all the examples of the "big lie" which the Communists have told to forward their purposes, the biggest is the lie by Khrushchev that history is on their side. Exactly the opposite is true.

We have here a so-far highly successful attempt of cunning power-seeking murderers, using a fraudulent ideology as a cover and excuse for their crimes, to impose a most brutal form of slavery on the whole world. And this development is so contrary to the recurrent trends of sociology, is such a rare exception to the halting but general movement from savagery towards civilization, that only twice in all recorded history has there been anything like it. One was the drive of the Lycurgean fascists, headed by Sparta. The second is the drive of the Marxian Communists, headed by Soviet Russia. Neither is anything more, when viewed in long perspective, than a dirty boil on the surface of history. But a bad boil is not only extremely painful while it lasts. It can become dangerous and damaging if not lanced in time. The question is how soon the strength and the determination can be gathered to pierce this festering boil.

What I have chiefly intended the questions above and this brief introduction to lead to, therefore, is the realization that we are not tossing a coin which either comes down "win" or "lose"; that every effort we undertake, every battle we fight -- even if we lose it -- and every sacrifice we make is cumulative. Every bit of dedication to the cause is worthwhile. The most important consideration is to get the most possible effectiveness out of all efforts, all sacrifice, and all dedication, so as to speed the day when the cumulative total of anti-Communist resistance finally overcomes their always overextended framework of their control.

Obviously the place for us to begin is in the United States, for two reasons. First, because it must be our more earnest hope and goal to break out of this straightjacket, woven of pretense, deception, audacity, and terror, before it completely encompasses

ourselves. And second because the American support of the international Communist conspiracy is now the backbone of its strength, and has been for many years. If and when we can reach the point of turning just the American government from actively helping the Communist conspiracy everywhere in the world, we shall have won a most important battle in the war ahead.

For this purpose we need to do everything we can which will directly affect the actions and decisions of the men in government; to enlighten and slow down those on the other side. But the one ultimately sure way of achieving this reversal is to awaken enough local leaders among an apathetic American people, before the continuous brainwashing by the Left makes it impossible, to the point of generating public pressures that will force the slowdown and reversal. The amount of work required to do that, in the face of the way the cards have been so painstakingly stacked against us, is something to contemplate. And yet there is nothing but work and more work, thinking and more thinking, dedication and more dedication, which will do the job.

So now let's look at the job itself. If I were the "man on the white horse" on our side in this war, which is still political and educational rather than military; if I had sufficient resources available and sufficiently accepted authority over one million dedicated supporters -- out of at least five times that many militant anti-Communists who are already enrolled in, or contributing to, hundreds of ineffectual "freedom" groups -- so that I could coordinate the activities of those million men and women with some degree of positiveness and efficiency approaching the coordination by the Communists of their members and fellow travelers; if, though recognized as the leader for the sake of positiveness of direction

and coordination of effort and resources, I still had the dedicated advice, council, help, organizing ability, and executive know-how offered by the ablest men in America among the staunch anti-Communists whom I could gather around me; if I had this kind of realistic force with which to fight the Communists, here are some of the things I would do.

1. First we would establish reading rooms, somewhat similar to the Christian Science reading rooms, but small and inexpensive, in just as many of the cities, towns, and villages of this country as we could, just as rapidly as we could. They would be manned, utilized, and promoted in every feasible way by volunteers who were local members of our organization. The space would either be contributed, or would be obtained at a very low rental. And there are men and women, including young men and young women, in every community in America today, who are just looking for some way like this, within their circumstances, to help our cause. Some of them do not really mean the question, "What can I do?", but many of them mean it with all their hearts. And they are the very ones we would have in our fold.

These reading rooms would serve as rental libraries also, but with very strict rules and limitations on the taking out of books, so as to avoid too much loss through Communist sabotage. They would be extremely selective instead of exhaustive as to the books available. And in this connection let me point out that the January, 1959 issue of American Opinion will be given over entirely to a listing, under the heading of Old Books And New Reviews, of one hundred books, with just one or two review paragraphs about each. Our introduction will state that for any good American who really wants to know the true history of events and developments of the

past two decades, these books alone or even a majority of them will constitute a complete education in that field -- which they will. I can name for you today, out of people whom I had never heard of in 1952, convert after convert to the anti-Communist crusade, and now among the most indefatigable workers in that crusade, who were aroused and became converts, after first reading May God Forgive Us, by then determinedly obtaining and reading all or most of some fifty books which I listed in the back of that one. So I know there is a need for such a pamphlet as the January issue of American Opinion and that it can do some good.

But the reason I brought that matter up here is that those hundred books, so far as they are available, will be the nucleus of the stock of these reading rooms. And, since Communist pressures have caused the original publishers to allow so many of these valuable books of true history to go out of print, after first small editions, I am delighted to be able to tell you that a good friend of mine, Lyle Munson of The Bookmailer, already has the little company founded and the physical arrangements made for bringing any and all of these books, for which there is any reasonable demand, back into print in inexpensive editions. He has, in fact, already put out Major Jordan's Diaries, which had been out of print and almost impossible to obtain, in a two-dollar edition. He can and will do the same for Arthur Bliss Lane's I Saw Poland Betrayed, for George Creel's Russia's Race For Asia, and many others if and when we or anybody else need them in any reasonable quantity.

We would have these hundred books or most of them, and others, in these reading rooms. We would, of course, have all of the best anti-Communist periodicals there. And we would see that

plenty of proselytizing fervor was shown in getting people to read both the books and the periodicals. There are countless enthusiasts in our cause today, deeply patriotic and deeply disturbed but frustrated by not knowing what to do, who would welcome such ammunition and direction.

How many books each of these reading rooms would have, especially which books, and under what arrangements, would of course have to be tightly controlled from headquarters.

2. Second, since getting the truth about both recent history and current events into as many hands and heads as possible is so important, we would see that the circulation of the conservative periodicals was expanded as rapidly as it could be done without too much waste.

Now this is not an effort to promote the magazine, American Opinion, except as such concern is purely incidental and necessary to the whole presentation. We do think we have an increasingly professional magazine, which will gradually appeal to a much larger audience. In American Opinion we try to avoid eggheadism, and lay it out straight, as to both news and opinions, so that he who runs may both read and understand. We believe it can do an increasingly effective job for the anti-Communist cause, because of the tremendous amount of work put into having its pages present a true picture of what is happening, and because American Opinion is designed to reach and appeal to the ordinary American instead of any special group.

But what we are talking about here is the importance of obtaining a much wider readership for all of the worthwhile conservative publications, of which American Opinion is only one. All of them should be in those reading rooms mentioned above. I believe

that in most cases the subscriptions could be handled by, and the money for the purpose obtained by, the local volunteer groups running those reading rooms. But there are many other fertile fields which should be sowed.

For instance, I think that National Review especially, because it is aimed so professionally at the academic mind, should be in every college library in the United States, and if possible in every fraternity house. I think that the Dan Smoot Report, because it is fairly short and is quite suitable to pick up for reading during fifteen minutes of waiting time, should be in just as many doctors' and dentists' offices as possible. And while the American Medical Association has now been "took," to the extent that we could not count on any direct help there, the American Association of Physicians and Surgeons, still under aggressively anti-socialist leadership, has fifteen thousand members, most of whom are not only highly respected leaders in their profession, but are also actively concerned as individuals in stopping the socialist advance. I believe that this association's headquarters might furnish us the names of members who would faithfully keep the Dan Smoot Report displayed in their waiting rooms, just as fast as we could find the money for the subscriptions. I think that with the proper organizational follow-up we might soon have a lot of these physicians and surgeons paying for subscriptions themselves. And I think that a great deal could be done through this association and its fifteen thousand members, once they found out we had strength and meant business.

For a further illustration, I think that both Human Events and American Opinion, which complement each other very well, should be put in barbershops, from which we obtained firm written promises to

welcome these publications and keep them on the reading tables, just as fast and extensively as we could find the money. Incidentally, Human Events not only feels also that we complement each other well, but for this reason is willing to join us in offering bulk subscriptions to the two periodicals together at a reduced price; and American Opinion is, to the best of my knowledge, the first and only magazine with which they have been willing to join in such a combination offer. We should have such bulk combination subscriptions taken by business firms for their executives and some or all of their salaried employees as widely as possible -- and again as rapidly as possible.

With the metropolitan press and big circulation general periodicals not only largely denied to us, but in many cases either consciously or blindly promoting the Communist line, we need to use every feasible channel to get more of the truth over to more of the American people. And expanding the reach of the publications I have mentioned is just one of many ways of doing it. Also, there is another major and entirely different way of expanding this reach which I have not even touched on here, because I feel we have given enough time to this subject.

3. We would do everything we could to support, maintain, increase the number of stations used, and widen the audiences of, such radio programs as those of Fulton Lewis, Clarence Manion, and dozens of more localized broadcasters throughout the country. This would take the form of encouraging sponsors by both patronage of their products and letters of approval; of praising stations and networks for carrying such programs, to offset the constant barrage of complaints and pressures they get from the Left

Wing; of getting together groups to hear such broadcasts and inviting to those groups the uninformed or mildly interested who might be made active workers in the cause; by helping to raise money when absolutely necessary to keep such programs on present stations or get them on more; and in many other ways.

In Springfield, Massachusetts, there is a radio commentator named Hubert Kregeloh, who also teaches at one of the local junior colleges -- and also, incidentally, is one of the associate editors of American Opinion. A few years ago he was probably the most popular news commentator in Western Massachusetts on television as well as radio. He is a solidly conservative strongly anti-Communist analyst of the news. The Left Wing succeeded in running him off the TV screens for good, by organized and detailed pressure on his sponsors of almost unbelievable rottenness. They then went to work to get him off radio, by pressure on both his sponsors and the radio station, WSPR. It worked to the point that he has not had a sponsor for three years, and the radio station management has made it clear that they wish they could get rid of him. But three years ago a group of patriotic citizens in the Springfield area organized what they call the Committee For American Treatment Of The News. Without any tax exemption to help them they have raised the money every year, to pay him the necessary minimum for his services and to pay outright for his radio time -- fifteen minutes every weekday. So Hubert Kregeloh is not only still on WSPR, and not only has an excellent following, but I believe the influence of his program and his following may have been a main factor in causing that mealy-mouthed "modern Republican," Congressman John Heselton, to decide not to run again after several terms in Congress.

Now what was done in Springfield can be done by local groups in a great many other places in the United States, if they are given examples of success elsewhere, encouragement, inspiration, and guidance. What is even better is that in some of these cases, at least, we should be able to help to find commercial sponsors for such broadcasters, and to make the sponsorship a paying proposition so that they would not think of dropping the program. We would thus permit that same anti-Communist money to be used for other purposes. To this end, direction and coordination would be extremely important.

Of course we should also get commentators and programs favorable to our cause on television, as soon as and to whatever extent we could. But despite the grandiose plans I am outlining here, gentlemen, I am still trying to be as practical and realistic, with regard to what I think is actually possible of achievement, as I can. I know the fantastic cost of television programs. So let me point out that I do not think any early extensive use of television by us would be either a wise utilization of resources against other possibilities, nor even necessary.

For television is a quick and powerful medium. But its separate impacts are glancing blows of little depth, compared, let us say, to that of a great book which can be read again and again and which leaves an indelible impression and resolution in the mind. Also, television is tuned to, and aimed at, the masses. Now up to this point anyway, the masses of America, as distinguished from the opinion-molders, and despite all of the brainwashing that has been attempted so far -- the masses are still instinctively with us in opposition to Communism.

How much longer this will be so, in the continued current course of events, it is hard to say. But at the present time it is far more important for us to

try to reverse the direction of the molding of the opinions of men who read and think and study and are themselves opinion-molders, and for us to try to make going along with the Communists less opportunistically attractive to leaders of little conscience, than it is for us to beat our brains out in too hurried and too ambitious a direct attack on a mass wall we cannot budge.

We have to reach and rebuild this wall of mass opinion in time, of course, because it has already been eroded by, and yielded too much to, the philosophy of collectivism and welfarism. But it is still a bulwark on our side of the front, in the more immediate war against the Communist conspiracy. And our best bet is simply to try to keep it from being eroded further. Which leads us naturally into another step of this concerted program. It is still a prosaic step, against one or two that are somewhat more dramatic, to be suggested presently. But the Communists miss absolutely no bets or channels; and neither should we miss any that are in our practicable reach. So:

4. We would institute the organized planning and control to make full and effectively coordinated use of the powerful letter-writing weapon that lies so ready at hand.

The Communists boast that they can now land fifty thousand individually written letters in Washington, on either side of any subject, within seventy-two hours. Actually that is not too startling an accomplishment. We could make it look like peanuts, with the million truly dedicated and controlled supporters who constitute the hypothesis -- though merely an hypothesis -- of this part of this discussion. There should be a continuous overwhelming flood of letters, not just to legislators or the executive de-

partments in Washington, but to newspaper editors, television and radio sponsors, educators, lecturers, state legislators and politicians, foundation heads and everybody else whose opinions, actions, and decisions count for anything in the ultimate total actions and decisions. Such an outpouring of mail would give more courage to a lot of people who would prefer to be more clearly on our side, and would at least slow down the brazen advance of some of those on the other side. Let me give you an illustration.

A few months ago United Airlines started a movement, which could have had tremendous psychological and propaganda value for the internationalist Left-wingers, by putting the insignia of the United Nations on their planes, with the words "We believe" under the insignia. And in this case a spontaneous letter-writing campaign, with the only organization or inspiration of the campaign coming without any co-ordination whatsoever from a few small rightwing groups and individuals, was able to force United Airlines to back down completely and publicly admit that they had made a mistake. This in itself would have been significant enough, but there was one angle to it, completely unpublicized, which made the results more striking. This was that United Airlines backed down, and took the UN insignia off their planes, despite the fact that Paul Hoffman, Gardiner Cowles, and Eric Johnston are all members of United Airlines board of directors. This shows what letter-writing can do, even against determined and entrenched opposition.

Also, there would be an advantage in continuous, organized letter-writing campaigns of an entirely different nature. It would give the members of our local chapters and volunteer groups just one more activity, one more thing to do, by which they knew

they were accomplishing something and being effective for the cause. For this very reason, among others, the letter-writing of sub-groups should not be left to the haphazard or half-hearted following by the members of hopeful pleas or suggestions. It should be definitely planned, ordered, and the amount and promptness of participation constantly checked and evaluated by a central headquarters or director.

The biggest of all organizational mistakes is to set up a local group for some continuing purpose, exhort them to do a good job, and then leave them alone to do it. It is the leadership that is most demanding, most exacting of its followers, not the one which asks the least and is afraid to ask more, that achieves really dedicated support. We are presupposing here an initial faith and dedication which should be constantly strengthened by a man's straining efforts to live up to what is expected of him and to live up to the promise he has made to himself.

Letter-writing, of a different order of planned continuity and volume than anything attempted before -- except on a somewhat more sporadic scale by the Communists themselves --; letter-writing of the kind that builds opinion exactly the way single grains of sand build a whole barricade; this is only one, but a still important one, of the disciplined activities by which we would keep a million men working every day, adding small increments of strength to the anti-Communist side, for every bit of the time and energy they could devote to the cause.

5. We would organize fronts -- little fronts, big fronts, temporary fronts, permanent fronts, all kinds of fronts. One of the greatest weaknesses and mistakes on the conservative side has been that almost all of the organizations, real ones or just letterhead outfits, have been put together for general

purposes. The Communists have been far smarter. They would never think of setting up publicly, for instance, a Committee To Promote Communism.

It is too general. Yet we have several leagues against Communism, and others just as vague in the fronts they present.

The most effective fronts, on either side, are ad hoc committees, aimed to accomplish, or at least publicize, one particular purpose. The Communists have some long-range fronts, large, permanent, adequately staffed, of which the Committee For Aid To Foreign Born is probably the oldest, largest, and strongest. But they have or have had hundreds of such fronts as the Committee For Clemency For The Rosenbergs, or the Committee To Publicize The Report Of The Seven Ministers, which had no permanence, no staff, and frequently no organization except on the letterhead. Some one or more Communists had simply been assigned the job of getting the necessary names and putting on that particular show -- or of getting some gullible non-Communist to do so.

Now on our side probably the most effective of all the organizations has been the Committee Of One Million, devoted specifically to the job of keeping Red China out of the United Nations. It has helped a great deal in keeping Red China out so far. And, as is true in the case of all good fronts, well run, its influence has spilled over helpfully in many ways. We have some smaller fronts, such as Orfit -- an organization for repeal of the income tax -- which have probably accomplished more, in proportion to the money and effort spent, than many of the larger organizations of conservatives. For it had and has a specific named purpose.

But on our side we are surfeited with organizations which have the general purpose of fighting

Communism, or the general purpose of promoting free enterprise or of preserving constitutional government. Some of them have done a lot of good. They will never stop the Communists, however, and they are not examples of the use of the front technique. Of course fronts alone aren't going to stop the Communists either. But enough of them being constantly organized -- for this purpose, that purpose, and every kind of purpose -- some fading out and new ones coming in all of the time, can bother the Communists, can occasionally put them on the defensive, can bring more of the uninformed and previously indifferent but patriotic Americans into the fight, and can help our cause in many ways. Again, let me try to make my point clearer, and to make it more easily, by suggesting a few examples.

A. Committee For Withdrawal Of Recognition.

This is one we would set up as soon as possible; a permanent, adequately staffed, front, actively engaged in mobilizing, publicizing, and guiding so as to make effective, all possible sentiment for withdrawal of diplomatic recognition from Russia and the satellite governments. This committee would keep up a constant expounding and repetition about the reasons for withdrawal. And it would be able to find enough supporters, both individuals and organizations, which the press could not entirely ignore, to get at least some worthwhile free publicity from papers which would prefer to ignore it.

B. An example of fronts at the other extreme, as to size and permanence, which we would set up, might be a Committee To Protest The Firing Of Medford Evans. And gentlemen, don't be afraid of long names for these fronts. Such names, showing exactly what the committee is for, help to bring onto

the letterheads and into the roll of active supporters a great many people who would take no interest whatsoever in an activity of a more general nature and with a more vague description, even as ably directed a one as the Campaign For The Forty-eight States.

Now the Communists and their allies and dupes are always shouting about academic freedom. They have arranged several nationally publicized tantrums in educational circles when college professors with Communist records have been dismissed. But they have been quietly causing professors who oppose the Communist line to be eased out of jobs wherever they can. They have made it hard for such conservatives to get jobs. And they have used this pressure and threat unhesitatingly to make anti-Communist professors, who are still on faculties, tone down their anti-Communism or abandon the fight altogether.

Now Medford Evans is being fired -- officially he has been told that his contract will not be renewed next June -- from Northwestern State College in Louisiana for no other reason than his uncompromising stand against Communism. This can be shown conclusively to the satisfaction of any reasonable man, even a college professor. (A bow to Dr. Oliver.) In fact, as of now the Leftists behind this deal, apparently making a puppet out of the weak-kneed college president, seem to want it known that Dr. Evans is losing his job because of his anti-Communism -- again as a warning and threat to others like him.

It is a long story, in which some of the left-wing forces at Harvard seem to be definitely involved, and I'll not go into the details. But Medford Evans' scholarship is unquestioned. He is an excellent and popular teacher, as shown by the enrollment in his

classes. And he is a fairly well-known writer for conservative publications. Also, he has friends, both inside and outside of academic circles, all over the United States. The president of the college has shown by both actions and words that he feels himself on very unsure and awkward grounds, in carrying out orders or yielding to pressures which come from others than himself. I believe that, if Medford were willing, and especially if we had the letter-writing strength available as referred to above to support such a front, a Committee To Protest The Firing Of Medford Evans could attract enough support to make quite a cause célèbre out of the affair, to make this small college and its smaller president look sick, and to throw quite a scare into some others contemplating doing the same thing. A few similar actions would slow down some of the brazen squeezing out of conservatives from teaching jobs, and give new courage to those that remain.

The front business, like a lot of techniques the Communists use, can be made to cut both ways. And we would not have to be worried about their greater numbers smothering us, either. We are talking about a million men, by which of course I mean men, women, and girls and boys of college age or old enough to be in the fight. And while nobody realizes better than I do the tremendous work and strain and dedication on the part of increasing numbers that will be required to recruit such an army, they are there just waiting to be recruited if we can get the story to them. And I hope to convince you tomorrow that my plans and thinking on this score are at least just as realistic as is any other conceivable undertaking by which we might save ourselves from Communist enslavement. We already know that the whole job is of Herculean proportions, but so must be our efforts. So please let me proceed on my

hypothesis for the time being.

And the Communists do not have a million men to work with in this country, even including their fellow travelers and active dupes. For some non-Communist-sounding united-front efforts, in which Communist participation is not easily recognizable, it is estimated that they can muster just about one million useful workers. But for fronts with a visible Communist slant, the reservoir they have to draw from is far less than that. It isn't numbers we have to worry about in this connection, but the courage on the part of our followers to stick their necks out and play rough -- the same as the Communists do all of the time -- and that courage will come too with gathering strength.

With such fronts as A Petition To Impeach Earl Warren, (and I think we could get the names of a hundred outstanding leaders from the South and many from the North on the letterhead right now); a Committee To Investigate Communist Influences At Vassar College (headed by Vassar graduates, of course); and Women Against Labor Union Hoodlumism (which would pick up the individual stories of husbands injured, cars wrecked, houses damaged, families terrified, in the strike at Kohler and others like it, tell those stories from the women's point of view and show the suffering they caused wives and mothers); with these and dozens of new fronts popping up to attack the Communists -- or persons, institutions, and movements giving aid and comfort to the Communists -- we can certainly keep this whole front operation from being so one-sided, as it has been. We can stop letting the Communists have the whole effective use of this weapon practically by default, and what's more, we can use the noise and turmoil to help to wake up a lot of people to the fact that there is a deadly fight going on of which they had been

blissfully unaware.

C. A part of this same operation is the gathering of petitions; local petitions, national petitions, dealing with political matters, economic matters, educational matters and everything under the sun. This is something else for local workers to do which, in its cumulative effect, is of considerable importance, and which would utilize the available time and energy of such local workers in a way which not only would be worth while, but which they could sense was worth while if the planning and use of these petitions were thought out and carried through with sufficient care.

Right now, for instance, a Petition To The Airplane Pilots Association To Grow Up might find a very responsive reception. I am sure it would with you gentlemen, with both major airlines which serve Indianapolis now on strike.

As the preamble to this petition would point out, in the friendliest possible language in which such a charge could be stated, here is a group of men all professionally trained, all well paid, and all in responsible jobs of a level to make them admired by the public, who by the union tactics of their Association are bringing themselves down, in the eyes of the public, to the level of one of John L. Lewis' Mineworkers Locals. These men must have the professional competence of, and considerably more knowledge than, the ship captains of older days. They should have the same respect for themselves and retain and enjoy the same respect from the public; not deliberately put themselves in the same category as chauffeurs and truckdrivers, no matter how admirable, and how necessary to our economy, chauffeurs and truckdrivers may be.

It is obvious that some strong leftwing influences have seen a good strategic opening, and have crept

into the Airplane Pilots Association in considerable strength. And it is unlikely that any such petition would cause them to be dislodged. Also, the petition would undoubtedly be resented by most of the members, even those opposed to the strikes in which they participate -- or the strikes of other airline employees which they support.

But the petition, with perhaps a hundred thousand signatures, even while they resented it, would make these members sit up and take stock of themselves, of their Association, and of the way it is being run. It would start a lot of people to thinking about the proper place of unionism in our lives, and about the important part our present commercial airline pilots would play in any future war and the significance of leftwing influences so busily at work in that area. It also well might, as a more direct result, force those leftwing influences to be considerably more circumspect and cautious for quite a while.

Or let's take one more example from the opposite end of the drawer. The time will almost certainly come when that postponed next summit conference will again be brought to the fore. At such a conference in 1959 or 1960, when Eisenhower will have the noisy backing, from a far more leftish Congress than we have ever had before, for even more drastic appeasement of and surrenders to the Communists, the blow to any remaining free-world morale might well be final and fatal. Just as soon as the wind of such a forthcoming summit conference started to blow, we would launch the gathering of one of the most gigantic petitions of all times. My present feeling is that we should pick up Alfred Kohlberg's brilliant line and head this petition simply as follows: Please, Mr. President, Don't Go! It is just possible that we could get ten million signatures

and stop him from going no matter how strong had been the original intentions of his advisers. And what a blow to the continued Communist parade of success that would be!

But the possible use of petitions is fairly obvious. Goodness knows the Communists have proved their subtle value and effectiveness. We ought to outdo the Communists at least two to one at that game, until we finally make petitions so overabundant and commonplace that they cease, for a while at least, to be a useful technique for either them or ourselves. So let's go on to another step.

6. Another thing we should do, and one badly needed, would be to start shocking the American People -- or an increasing percentage of the more literate and more intelligent who have not yet been completely brainwashed -- into a realization of what is happening; into a dawning realization of how far and how completely Communists and Communist influences have crept right into communities, institutions, and activities where the general public does not have the slightest suspicion of such infiltration. The best way to do this is by exposure, which is why the Communists just had to get rid of McCarthy, and went to such extreme lengths to do so.

No committee we might set up, of course, would have the subpoena privileges or other Congressional powers of McCarthy, which makes our job far more difficult. And it would, for a while anyway, be vain to count on either of the remaining investigating committees of the House or the Senate. Their files are already bulging with important evidence about individual Communists which has not been used and is unlikely to be used. The Communist political pressures have become so strong and so devastating, and the Supreme Court's decisions have so

hamstrung the actions of these committees, that they hardly dare even go through the motions of hearings of this kind any more.

But, admitting the difficulties, some really dramatic exposures would be worth a lot. And it is because we must have a medium of publication, for a lot of things which the regular press would at present be unwilling to touch, that I have put so much work into American Opinion, have seen the magazine as such a necessity, and cannot help coming back to it just briefly here.

We could count on some help from the other reputable rightwing publications, of course, because goodness knows we should be and would be helping them enough. But a medium which is not subject to the editorial ideas or the financial and personal considerations of anybody else is a necessity. And getting its readership and reach large enough for it to pack a noticeable wallop is also a necessity.

For an article exposing some public figure as a Communist, in a magazine reaching five thousand subscribers, even though many of them were quite influential, could and probably would be ignored by the Communists, and the effect of the article would be smothered by this energetic looking-the-other-way. But if the same thing were in a magazine reaching two hundred thousand subscribers, ignoring the charges would be out of the question. So please allow me to make a circulation of one to two hundred thousand for American Opinion a part of my hypothesis for the minute, and go on with this question of administering some shocks to the public.

Let's make what we are talking about clearer by an illustration. There is the head of one of the great educational institutions in the East (not Harvard, incidentally) whom at least some of us believe to be a Communist. Even with a hundred

thousand dollars to hire sleuths to keep him and his present contacts under constant surveillance for a while, and to retrace every detail of his past history, I doubt if we could prove it on him. But -- with just five thousand dollars to pay for the proper amount of careful research, which could be an entirely logical expenditure and undertaking of the magazine, I believe we could get all the material needed for quite a shock. Of course we would have to satisfy ourselves completely as to whether our guess had been correct, from the preliminary research, before going ahead with the project and spending that much money.

But if we are right, and with the research job done and the material assembled which I think would be available, we would run in the magazine an article consisting entirely of questions to this man, which would be devastating in their implications. The question technique, when skillfully used in this way, is mean and dirty. But the Communists we are after are meaner and dirtier, and too slippery for you to put your fingers on them in the ordinary way -- no matter how much they look and act like prosperous members of the local Rotary Club.

Now such an article might still be pretty much ignored by the general press, no matter how large our circulation. And of course we would be smeared by the liberals in every way they could contrive. For next to a woman scorned, hell hath no fury like that of a liberal about whom -- or whose heroes -- somebody has told the truth. But the smearing we would have to expect in due course, anyway, no matter what we did. And the article, even if by delayed action, would have a powerful impact. A lot of the very people who joined in the smears would begin to wonder. Some of them would go back and read the article a second time. Others, never

having read it, but hearing about it, would get a copy and do so. The softening process of wonder and doubt at work on the resistant minds of these liberals, and on the simply uninformed minds of some of the general public, would be getting those minds in condition for the next shock and then the next one to penetrate further.

For what would make this particular initial and sample shock such a bombshell is, first, the extreme importance of this man in other fields besides education; and second, that almost nobody -- except some of those on the same side with him, of course -- suspects the guy. It was only a very minor but a very strange incident that happened to turn my surprised eyes, a few years ago, to watching what he said and did against this possibility. But once you do just that, long enough, there is less and less room left for doubt about his real purposes and accomplishments. Yet this man has on his board and administrative committees some of the ablest and most patriotic of Americans. Even a suggestion that he was a Communist, if that suggestion were backed up by enough details and facts to make it obviously worthy of consideration by any fairminded man, would come as an absolute blockbuster, in a lot of circles besides the world of education.

Incidentally, as I indicated just now in passing, one of the hardest things for the ordinary decent American to realize is that a secret Communist looks and acts just like anybody else, only more so; or that anybody he, the ordinary decent American, happens to know personally, could possibly be a Communist. Due to the fact that I was for two years chairman of the Educational Advisory Committee of the NAM, and came in contact with leading educators all over the United States, I have known the man under discussion for years and he is -- for all out-

ward purposes -- one of the nicest men you ever met. Most of them are.

Now what I have in mind, naturally, is following up one such bombshell with others. We might use this technique of complete articles in the form of questions, addressed to important figures in various divisions of our national life, whom almost nobody now suspects, in one issue of the magazine after another. We might call it our question series, and get a lot of people looking for the question article each time. It should go without saying that we would have to be sure enough of our own ground in each case to satisfy the most exacting sense of fairness. But I believe the whole series could have the desired effect of shocking a lot of people into a reluctant awareness of what goes on -- even many of those who would resent and smear the articles most severely at first. McCarthy had in his camp, before he got through, a lot of the people who had smeared him most bitterly in the beginning -- including that newspaper in Syracuse.

As for the number of deserving and sufficiently important targets for the arrows of our series, gentlemen, don't let that problem cause you a second thought. Highly placed secret Communists, or at least workers for the Communist cause, is something with which we are absolutely loaded. And while proving that any one of them is or ever has been an actual Communist might be too difficult, or even impossible, proving that the same man is a worker for the Communist cause is a matter of the painstaking accumulation of a tremendous number of details, and then of selecting, merging, and compressing until you have the proper amount of material that yields the greatest explosive power per page.

And there is another important reason for embarking on these exposures besides those that might

first occur to you. Let's creep up on it by analogy for a clearer view.

At the time of Pearl Harbor, and in the early years thereafter, it would have been absolutely fatal to Franklin D. Roosevelt and George Catlett Marshall for the part they had played in bringing on that catastrophe to have become known to the American people. By coercion on the one hand and rewards on the other, Roosevelt contrived to have perjury, postponements, decisions against the evidence, and every necessary means used, before or in connection with one hearing after another, to keep the truth from getting into the record. He refused to allow the court-martials demanded by General Short and Admiral Kimmel, to which they were clearly entitled, and he wrecked other service careers brutally and without hesitation, to keep the real facts covered up. For the real facts not only constituted plain unadulterated treason on the part of both Marshall and himself, but they would unquestionably have been so regarded at that time by a horrified American public. Exposure at that time might have brought Roosevelt's impeachment, despite the war, and would certainly have been disastrous to the reputations and future careers of both Marshall and himself.

But now notice that less than ten years later, through publication of the books by Morgenstern, Kimmel, Admiral Theobald, and others, the true facts concerning Pearl Harbor were definitely established and made available for anybody who wanted to read them. And by this time, so far had effective public opinion in America been gradually eased towards the internationalist left, the Roosevelt-worshippers didn't challenge the facts at all. They took the position, instead, of practically admitting the facts, and of openly praising Roosevelt for having been so farsighted and such a courageous statesman

as to have used this means of getting a united America wholeheartedly into the war; a war which was then prosecuted to such a glorious success, on behalf of the future happiness of the world under Soviet socialist leadership, as to make the loss of lives and ships at Pearl Harbor appear now as a picayune loss and a brilliant gambit.

Well, gentlemen, I can assure you that the Communists and pro-Communists in Washington today, including those most highly placed, fully expect the same whitewashing of their deeds by the history resulting from those deeds. Right under our noses the Communists are gradually carrying out their plan of grand strategy, as already described, which is so to change the economic and political structure of the United States that it can be comfortably merged with Soviet Russia in a one-world socialist government.

In this patient process they never expect you to be able to find the line, or for there ever even to be a line, on one side of which you can say clearly that the United States is an independent nation, and on the other side of which you would know that the United States was already just another Soviet People's Republic in the world-wide Communist empire -- with the police-state features already closing in on us. But somewhere we reach the point -- if the Communists are successful, as they now certainly expect to be -- where all newspapers, all magazines, all radio and television commentators, all lecturers, and all historians will be constantly proclaiming the glories of this great one-world socialist government which has now brought peace (meaning subjection and slavery) to all mankind.

Already, through their stooges like Milovan Djilas, who is supposed to be in disgrace in Yugoslavia, and Boris Pasternak, who is supposed to be

suffering bitter enmity of the dictators in Russia, but whose books have thus been publicized -- and, please note, helped by the Left Wing -- to become best sellers in America; already through such books, which gullible Americans more readily swallow as true because of the supposed hatred of the authors for their respective governments, tens of thousands of opinion-molding Americans are more and more accepting, or finding less unbelievable, the thesis of these books that Communism itself is all right -- in fact is a glorious system -- and that all that's wrong with it is the character of the people now running the system.

Already, in hundreds of other ways, the Communists are rubbing out or making more and more shadowy the lines of disagreement and the once sharp differences between our ways and theirs. The movement is smooth, widespread, continuous, insidious, and powerful. Already Communism and Communists -- even with a record like Oppenheimer's -- become more and more respectable in this country; and outspoken or firmly uncompromising anti-Communists become more and more disparaged as fanatics. And so, already, it becomes less and less reprehensible for an American to be working for Communism, especially if he labels it international socialism, even though he commits treason to the United States in doing so.

The top American secret Communists in this country, therefore, fully expect that by the time it is ever possible for anybody to bring out the fact that they have been working as secret Communists, instead of that action then being considered as having been reprehensible, they will be praised for having, in courageous, farsighted, and statesman-like manner, helped to speed progress and the wave of the future. Instead of having committed treason

to the United States, they will have been carrying out a deeper and superior loyalty to an all-encompassing one-world ideal which included the United States. They know that the moral judgements of the future belong to the victors; and they are confident that the agreed-upon legend which becomes history will be written by themselves and their supporters. They are well aware of the thought which Sir John Harrington expressed: "For if it prosper, none dare call it treason!"

Increasingly as we near that stage, therefore, exposure of secret American Communists will mean less and less. Again we see why destruction of McCarthy took precedence over everything else on the Communists' American agenda. For he was exposing treason while it was still treason, and when it really hurt their cause; whereas if they could only hold off such exposures for a few more years, bringing out the same facts and exposing the same men would not amount to anything serious anyway.

Which brings us back to the step we are supposed to be discussing, of our own exposure, through publication, of present secret Communists, while it will still shock the American people and can have some real effectiveness. It would at the present time. For the important consideration would be to do these things, and bring out these facts, before the Communists were ready for them. If we do not start beating them to the punch on a lot of things we are gone anyway.

Of course we would have to be prepared from the beginning for a lot of smearing, as I have already said; and possibly also, no matter how carefully our job was done, for a lot of nuisance libel suits. And we must face the fact that our courts have by no means been immune to Communist infiltration either. So that if the supposedly aggrieved parties could get

their cases into certain courts, the libel suits might easily prove to have more than nuisance value. But it is to be remembered that libel suits also necessarily give added publicity to the charges, which is one thing we would be seeking and which the Left would be most anxious to avoid.

Also, admittedly, the step proposed here is drastic. But this is no cream-puff war we are in, and the stakes involved are not those of a pillow fight. We have to face squarely up to the solid truth -- that unless we are willing to take drastic steps, a lot of them, and very drastic indeed, we haven't a chance in the world of saving our lives, our country, or our civilization. And we might as well start reconciling ourselves to having our children -- not just our grandchildren -- live under the Kremlin's rule, as Mr. Khrushchev indirectly prophesied.

7. The sequence of these steps means nothing except just the way I happen to be listing them. But this one is closely connected in purport to the one above. To keep from wearing you out completely, however, I'll cover it far more briefly.

There are now dozens of slimy characters at loose in our midst, whom I'll call to your attention by describing one who is more or less typical. His usual name is Gordon Hall, though he also uses and has used many aliases. He and his fellow toilers for the Communist cause all follow the pattern more elaborately established by their more spectacularly successful archetype, Avedis Boghis Derounian, otherwise known as John Roy Carlson, author of the libelous book Undercover which viciously smeared many good American patriots and sold several hundred thousand copies.

In fact Gordon Hall worked for a few months for the same outfit that financed John Roy Carlson into

fame. This was the so-called Friends of Democracy, run by Rex Stout, former editor of the Communist publication New Masses, and by the so-called "Reverend" L. M. Birkhead. Gordon Hall was employed by them for the same purpose as had been Carlson: namely, to pose as a violent anti-Semitic, and pass out anti-Semitic literature to outspoken patriots; then, wherever he could find one nibbling at his bait, to follow it up, encourage the man's incipient anti-Semitism, or his susceptibility to the virus; and eventually to work the victim into a position where, under the prodding of his friend, Carlson or Hall, he said something or did something which could be exhibited as evidence of his anti-Semitism. From then on he was sure to be smeared sooner or later, by the outfit for whom Carlson or Hall were gathering this information, as fascist, anti-Semitic, and generally a rotten character in every way.

Now it is true that any man who ever listened to these whisperings of hatred from Carlson or Hall was foolish, or worse. But a dislike for other races or creeds is a kind of unfortunate weakness to which human nature has a sad and too general vulnerability. It has been used by the Communists with tremendous energy, skill, and determination in America to stir up hatred and distrust among innocent people; between Gentiles and Jews; of Protestants for Catholics and vice-versa; of white people for colored and of our colored citizens for their white neighbors; and in a dozen lesser ways and opportunities. It's a rotten game. But the man who falls for it is not half as rotten as the man who promotes it. And most rotten of all is the agent provocateur, who stirs up this hatred specifically for the purpose of being able to accuse others of having yielded to it.

Now this Gordon Hall I am supposed to be talking about -- if I can keep from being carried away by

my subject -- has plenty of other unsavory stretches in his record. But he is very much at large, puts on a very respectable front, and is quietly but busily moving around making speeches somewhere almost every night -- to Church Clubs, P.T.A. Groups, and similar small local audiences. And what he spews is subtle but deadly poison, carefully flavored to appeal to each different group in each different locality. He has recently been working New England, which is why I am using him for a sample.

He begins, of course, by announcing that he is vigorously opposed to Communism and Communists, but --: We mustn't allow our fear of Communism, which has little practical basis anyway, to cause us to listen to people who, in fighting Communism, will do more damage to our ideals and our "democracy" and our wonderful American feeling of "brotherhood" than would the Communists themselves. And he then proceeds to make clear that these dangerous detestible people include practically everybody who has ever opened his mouth against Communism.

In Western Massachusetts, for instance, we have several hundred subscribers to American Opinion, due to the fact that Hubert Kregeloh, the radio commentator on Station WSPR, of whom I told you earlier, is a regular contributor to our magazine and frequently mentions it on his broadcasts. So, to a P.T.A. audience of some two hundred in Springfield, Gordon Hall, after taking only a careful crack or two at Kregeloh himself -- because Kregeloh was likely to have friends in the audience -- then went on "regretfully" to make clear that his strongest real criticism of Kregeloh was that Kregeloh unfortunately had now got himself tied up with and was working for a real "hate" group in Boston, headed by Robert Welch. And he left no doubt that this Robert Welch in Boston was promoting hatred for all minority

groups, and especially for those who believed in "democracy" and "brotherhood" and social progress; or that anybody who read my magazine ought to be ashamed of having such hatred-promoting trash in his possession.

Gordon Hall then came to Boston and made several speeches, in which he never mentioned my name or let on that he had ever heard of me. For if he had even implied to one of these audiences that I was anti-Semitic or anti-Catholic or anti-Negro or anything else except Communists, or even in general terms that I was running a hate group, the chances are somebody would have got up and called him a liar -- as he well knew. But he sawed plenty of wood just the same. And he is plenty smooth.

One result of one of Gordon Hall's appearances in Boston would have been amusing but for its confirmation of the widespread impression he was creating so successfully. By the time he got through with this particular audience of good church members he had them believing exactly what I told you in my first paragraph about him above; namely, that the real danger was not Communism, but the bigotry and intolerance of the anti-Communists. I know, because a close friend of our family who heard him -- and she is as fine a woman and as patriotic an American as you will ever meet -- took it on herself shortly thereafter to give me something of a lecture on my attitude towards the Communists. She said this attitude was perhaps too harsh, and probably unfair to some people who were merely progressive. And her lecture was based, as she proudly informed me, on what she had recently learned from a wonderful speaker, named Gordon Hall -- who was himself strongly anti-Communist, however, because he had said so several times in his speech.

Now, as I pointed out in the beginning of this

section, there are many of these birds racing around over the country, actually promoting Communism, by making the task of the anti-Communist more difficult, every night. And we could silence them with comparative ease. All it would take in Gordon Hall's case would be to send about three people to his "lectures" (but a different three each night), have them sit apart and show no connection with each other, and let each of them ask a question during his question-and-answer period.

"Mr. Hall. According to this printed record, you once spent several months passing out anti-Semitic literature. Is that true?"

As soon as he finishes squirming out of this one, another questioner arises.

"Mr. Hall. According to this announcement of your speech, obviously based on information you yourself gave the program chairman, you worked for a while for the XYZ Agency. But I have here a published statement I happened to run across, in which Mr. X says that you never worked for the XYZ Agency at all or in any capacity. Is Mr. X mistaken?"

For a speaker like Gordon Hall, before the kind of audiences which employ him, it is quite difficult to refuse to allow a question-and-answer period. Let the barrage indicated above go on for a few nights, during that period, and Gordon Hall may still be finding some other way to serve Communist purposes, but it will not be as a speaker, and probably not half as effective in its results. Stopping the damage done by speakers like Gordon Hall is not really too hard, if anybody cares. But there, as in so many other ways and activities, we are simply letting the Communists win by default.

8. We would line up a large list of speakers

ourselves, all over the country -- and there are plenty available -- who would be willing to speak to these comparatively small audiences, for small fees or no fees, not on Communism or anti-Communism in general, but on specific subjects; who could make speeches which thus would be informative and well received, but which could still carry a strong anti-Communist message. This, like everything else we are talking about, is a matter of planning, supervision, and control.

Then we would go to work putting together the huge lists of church clubs, P.T.A. groups, and others who use such speakers, and start making known to them who was available on what subjects. Most of the speaker's bureaus and lecture agencies are not utilized by such groups to any great extent, because neither side can afford it. Which leaves the doors wide open for the Communists to send in their men or their friends. It's another game at which we ought to beat them hands down.

9. Now this is certainly not intended to be a comprehensive list. If so, it would last for days. Not only have we barely started on the measures that need to be taken, energetically and promptly. When it comes to the number and variety of activities through which the Communists are ceaselessly working, we have hardly scratched the surface by the countermeasures suggested. But we have to be practical. And so, regretfully, I am going to skip any discussion of other actions, classifiable and non-classifiable, defensive and offensive, which leap to mind, except for the two major categories of effort which complete this series. And those two I'll merely outline or indicate, because anything approaching proper coverage of either would take entirely too long.

Ninth and current in this listing, therefore, would be our undertakings on the international front. For many reasons we would start extending our body into other countries, as soon as there were energy and resources which could properly be spared for that purpose.

And please note that I said body, not organization. There is a huge difference, as I hope to make clear in the morning. An organization is a collection of individuals or groups held together more or less loosely and more or less temporarily by a common interest or common objective. A body, in the sense I am using it because it is the closest I can find to a word to express my concept, is an organic entity.

The Americans for Democratic Action is an organization. The Catholic Church is a body. The Republican Party is an organization. The Communist Party is a body, which can move and work and make itself effective as an entity. We shall return to this whole thought and its importance in the morning. Let's leave it now that we would have our body grow across national boundaries as soon as we properly could.

In the meantime other worthwhile goals would be the setting up, or helping to set up, one by one and very carefully, governments-in-exile out of the most respected and solidly anti-Communist refugees from the satellite nations. Or, if in some instances there were no refugee leader available in this country, with sufficient prestige and acceptability among his own people back home to justify his being made the head of a government in exile, we could serve the same purpose in those cases by establishing "revolutionary committees."

If these leaders could be given, or helped to obtain, the core of an organization -- and please note that, in connection with anything political, organization

is the right word -- then those governments-in-exile or revolutionary committees could put new courage into the hearts of millions behind the Iron Curtain. They are millions whose despair, largely brought about by the actions of our government over the past several years, is today one of the greatest assets of the Communist conspiracy. Such governments-in-exile would also be rallying points for a far more energetic opposition to Communist maneuvers and propaganda in this country, on the part of refugees who have become almost fatally frightened and dis-couraged since 1953.

10. Finally, and probably most important of all these courses of action, we would put our weight in-to the political scales in this country just as fast and far as we could. For unless we can eventually, and in time, reverse by political action the gradual sur-
render of the United States to Communism, the ult-i-
mate alternative of reversal by military uprising is
fearful to contemplate.

Now there is one thing to which any intelligent patriotic American might as well make up his mind at once. This is that the thorough and painstaking organization and work at the precinct levels, which wins elections, is not going to be done and can't be done by the Republican Party. It can be done in one state, under the personal leadership and manage-
ment of a Barry Goldwater for his own campaign. It might have been done in California by Bill Know-
land, if he could have got himself disconnected from his "modern-Republican" duties as minority leader of the Senate in time, and if he had known what he was up against. But it cannot be done nationally by the present Republican Party, nor by anything that can come out of the present shattered Republican Party in the foreseeable future. And it cannot be

accomplished through the leadership, drive, and loyalty-inspiring qualities of any candidate for the presidency, because there simply isn't time between the conventions and the elections.

This doesn't mean that the Republican Party cannot win elections, including possibly the next presidential election, please understand. It does mean that, especially if the Republican Party then stands nationally for any Americanist principles whatsoever, it cannot win unless it has strong help and backing from forces outside of the straight political organization -- such as the Democratic Party has on the other side in Walter Reuther's Committee on Political Education.

In my opinion, not even the Democratic Party, which, for all of its bitter internal splits, remains a far more disciplined and unified organization for campaign purposes than the Republican Party, can carry out any such precinct activities precisely directed at a national aim. There are too many local candidates and local issues for its precinct leaders and their bosses to think about. Which is why the most effective work towards one clearly defined national goal and policy is now being done by Reuther's COPE; and the Democrats are winning elections because he picks so many of their candidates, and they are the beneficiaries of his tremendous organizational reach and resources.

We are at a stage, gentlemen, where the only sure political victories are achieved by non-political organization; by organization which has a surer, more positive, and more permanent purpose than the immediate political goals that are only means to an end; by organization which has a backbone, and cohesiveness, and strength, and definiteness of direction, which are impossible for the old-style political party organization. It is to be noted, and is extremely

important, that the AFL-CIO under Walter Reuther's increasing domination is gradually being converted from an organization to a body, in the senses I have distinguished above.

We would have to move into this field, gentlemen, with a body of our own. What's more, we would have to move ahead of Reuther in strength that can be applied to this purpose, as rapidly as possible. Nobody knows, and there is no way of finding out, how many millions of dollars Reuther spent in the last election, nor how many tens of thousands of precinct workers he was able to put on the job. But with a million men and the resources consistent with the dedication of those men which we are presupposing, we could move in on the elections thereafter with both more man power and more resources than Reuther will be able to marshal by that time.

Fantastic? Of course it's fantastic. But everything I am talking is fantastic. We are living in fantastic times and a fantastic situation. The alternative to sufficiently fantastic measures and efforts is a fate of fantastic suffering for our children, and the equally fantastic loss of a whole humane civilization that has cost countless sacrifices, immeasurable labor, and an infinite number of noble dreams across centuries in the building. We are in circumstances where it is realistic to be fantastic. I was careful to bring into this group only men of sufficient intelligence and imagination to understand that paradox. And tomorrow morning I hope to make the realism of this afternoon's hypothesis and these proposals at least as believable as is the almost unbelievable present power of the forces of evil arrayed against us.

May you have a good dinner, a little surcease from such serious thoughts, and a good night's sleep in the meantime.

SECTION FIVE

Under Positive Leadership

Yesterday morning we began with the scoreboard, showing the present level of Communist advance. Then we looked at the two underlying trends, the progress of the disease of collectivism and the loss of real faith, which in the long run could be more fatal than the onslaught of the Communist conspiracy. In the afternoon we began another look at the same things, with remedial action in mind rather than diagnosis. We outlined some needed steps for facing up to the Communist threat.

This morning, in continuing that retracing of our footsteps, we come first to the cancer of collectivism; to the question of how to stop its further ravages, and how to restore the American body politic to good health, renewed strength, and as much promise for the future as is possible in view of the damage already done. And that, gentlemen, brings me to one of the basic purposes for which this meeting was called. It is one which I approach with great humility, but with no misgivings as to its necessity.

For we simply are not going to be able to save our country from either the immediate threat of Communism, or the long-range threat of socialism, by organizational leadership. Our only possible chance is dynamic personal leadership. Let me begin with an illustration of the difference which also supports the argument.

In 1952 I disagreed with Bob Taft on at least three of his ten most important political principles.

Especially with regard to federal housing and United States Government aid to Israel I was diametrically opposed to policies he advocated. Yet I made twenty-five radio speeches for Taft, in the primary campaign, on my own time and my own money. Nor was this done at all on the let's-take-the-lesser-of-two-evils theory. I was wholeheartedly and enthusiastically for Taft, for the nomination and the presidency, because I trusted him and he was going generally in my direction. The fact that he didn't see two or three issues out of ten the way I saw them didn't dampen the energy of my personal support for him in the slightest.

But, if and when I am a member of any organization, political or otherwise, and there is disagreement on the part of any sizable percentage of the membership as to three out of ten of the organization's policies or planks, a splintering of the organization into two groups is almost inevitable. In eastern Massachusetts there was quite a live and energetic outfit of some seven hundred members, called The Friends of Senator McCarthy. I have seen another organization called American Patriots splinter off from the original one, and then re-splinter into a larger and smaller group, while the remnant of the first organization went to pieces. But if McCarthy were still alive, and if all the members of the organization had to agree on was support of a personal leader, there would probably be a thousand working members of that organization today -- despite exactly the same basic disagreements over various principles between them.

When Frank Lausche, running as a Democrat, was elected Governor of Ohio the last time, there must have been hundreds of thousands of Ohio Democrats who voted for him despite their vigorous disagreement with him over his support of Taft and

of the Taft-Hartley Act. But if the Democratic Party of Ohio, an organization, had tried to take a position in support of the Taft-Hartley Act, it would have split the Party wide open and have made it practically useless in the campaign. Personal leadership holds together a following in the way that organizational leadership never can.

Now we are surfeited in this country today with organizations opposing Communism or socialism. Leave out of consideration for the minute the extent to which they are handicapped by being almost entirely defensive. For while Napoleon was quite correct when he said that the purely defensive is doomed to defeat, that is another part of our story which we are coming to later. The point here is that none of these organizations alone, nor all of them together, nor all of them even if they were combined into one organization without initial loss of total strength, has any possibility of stopping the enemy.

Most of them, frankly, do not have any possibility of even enough piecemeal accomplishment in the total fight to justify the money and energy expended on them. For usually there is no sufficiently inspired personal leadership of the organization itself to obtain the greatest unanimity of purpose, efficiency, and enthusiasm which are necessary in connection with the expenditure of resources. And of course the one central direction and coordination of all of these groups, which is so vital to avoid waste, is entirely lacking. What is more, even if all of the seven hundred known groups could be and were combined into one organization, for the very purpose of obtaining centralized coordination, this central direction and coordination would still be lacking, or grossly inefficient and insufficient, so long as the combine was run as an organization.

Only if the members of these groups declared

allegiance to, came to feel an unshakable loyalty for, and thus accepted direction from, a dynamic personal leader; only under these conditions would there be any possibility of the members of these groups, and of all other Americans who feel basically as they do, supplying what is needed. That is, the strength and dedication which can turn back the Communists in front; and which, with the benefit of the momentum thus gained, can turn back the socialists behind the Communists. At present we are in the position of trying to defeat a disciplined well-armed expertly-commanded army with a collection of debating societies. And it can't be done.

Before we leave this point, let's use an illustration. And you pick it. You simply take in your own mind some patriotic organization you know about or perhaps in which you participate. Let's call it the XYZ Association. And no matter which one of the anti-Communist or anti-socialist groups you select, the chances are that the good citizens who put it together are friends of mine. They almost certainly are dedicated patriots who deserve our gratitude, and our praise. And I not only wish for them and their organization all possible success, but will help in any way I can towards increasing their effectiveness.

But let's be realistic. Ask yourself honestly about whatever organization you have in mind: Where is it going? Even if there were any clear consensus of opinion within the organization itself as to where it wanted to go, how much continued drive and concerted effort to that end do you think could be maintained. Who's going to die for XYZ Association, or the Blank Committee? We are fast coming to a point, gentlemen, where we've got to offer something that people are willing to die for. And only over long periods of time, and then in rare instances,

do you generate and maintain loyalty for an organization that is even in the same league with loyalty for an individual.

"But," you may say, "look at the success, at the terrific influence that has been exercised, by some of the organizations on the other side. Such as the ADA for instance -- the Americans For Democratic Action." But the ADA, whether a lot of its members know it or not, is the same as an arm of the Communist Party. Its weight can be thrown, and is thrown, time after time, with never an exception, in support of Communist objectives. It has the benefit of the direction of a nerve system of that body which runs all the way to the top.

But what is the XYZ Association an arm of, or the Blank Committee? It's a lonesome boy standing on the beach with a big broom, trying to brush back the waves that are about to flood the whole shoreline of beautiful houses. There are other boys with brooms and shovels and buckets all up and down the beach, doing the same thing. What is not only needed, but is absolutely imperative, is for some hardboiled, dictatorial, and dynamic boss to come along and deliver himself approximately as follows:

"Hey, you guys, all of you, drop those pretty brooms. You fellows down there on the end, start running for empty bags, and keep bringing more empty bags as fast as you can find them; make 'em out of sheets and tablecloths if you have to, or, get 'em any other way. Just get 'em! You fellows in those next two groups, start filling those bags with sand. You men here, all of you, start lugging those bags of sand to put on this wall the Communists have busted up so badly. And don't spare your backs. Build it high and build it quick, even if it is only with sandbags for the present.

"You fellows, over there, all of you, get the

heaviest clubs you can find, spread yourselves out no more thinly than you have to along the whole length of this wall, and don't hesitate to break the heads of any saboteurs you find monkeying with it. Don't even hesitate to break the heads of those you find creeping towards the wall, if you are sure of their evil intentions, just as a warning to the rest of the dirty gang. If everybody puts everything he's got into the job without stopping to argue, we'll be able to save these beautiful houses from this incoming flood. We'll not have just ruins left, no longer worth saving, when it recedes.

"But the minute we have the sandbags high enough, all of you fellows get to work at once bringing rocks and cement, and rebuilding this whole wall both higher and solider than it ever was before. Then, the next time a combination of tide, storm, and saboteurs comes in, we'll be ready for them. And once all of this is done, you can again start enjoying those beautiful homes you will have saved."

Human nature being what it is, there is no question about how much more energetically, determinedly, or confidently the men on the beach would work under such leadership; nor about how many more men would immediately be attracted to rebuilding the wall, and breaking the heads of the saboteurs, under such direction. But gentlemen, if you are going to wait for those boys and men with the brooms to form an association for rebuilding the wall, and for it then to be repaired and guarded under organizational and committee control, you might as well start telling the Communists to stake out their claims on the ruins of the former beautiful houses right now.

But that figure of speech has outlived its usefulness, so let's get down to plain language again. Let's look briefly at the possibility, the advantages, and the disadvantages, of finding this desperately needed

leader in the political field. And the easiest way to do this is to conduct the discussion around some individual from the very start.

Now the one man who comes nearest to measuring up to all the needs and qualifications, whom we see on the political horizon at the present time, is Barry Goldwater. I know Barry fairly well. He is a great American. As I foresaw a year ago how the Reutherite Left would concentrate national strength and resources on the Arizona campaign, and how important money from outside Arizona would be towards enabling Goldwater to meet that attack adequately, I took it on myself to become a one-man finance committee for him in Massachusetts. I raised around two thousand dollars in my state and sent it on to him early in 1958.

Now two thousand dollars isn't much, but Massachusetts is a long way from Arizona, and the so-called uppercrust of eastern Massachusetts are probably the most provincially and smugly ignorant of what is really happening today of any similar group in the United States. At any rate, through the efforts of a lot of other people in other states, who either had or were given the same idea, Barry had enough money, and had it early enough, to put on a bang-up, professional campaign; one that was successful -- for a Republican in a strongly Democratic state -- against everything Walter Reuther could throw at him.

Barry Goldwater has political know-how and the painstaking genius to use that know-how with regard to infinite details. He is a superb political organizer, and inspires deep and lasting loyalty. He is absolutely sound in his Americanism, has the political and moral courage to stand by his Americanist principles, and in my opinion can be trusted to stand by them until hell freezes over. I'd love to see him

President of the United States, and maybe some day we shall.

But -- does anybody in this room think there is any slightest chance of Barry Goldwater supplying the dynamic overall leadership needed to save this country for anybody to be president of? If so, I think he is still not fully aware of the nature and totality of the forces at work. For Goldwater, by the very circumstances of his political success, present prestige, and the expectations of his supporters, will inevitably think and move in terms of political warfare. Even if he personally should reach the point and the understanding of wanting to consider political action as just a part, no matter how important, of much broader overall action, how much chance do you think there is that his friends and supporters would let him step out of the strictly political role in which he has been so successful? How much chance is there that they would let him build and utilize forceful leadership on all of the other fronts where we must fight the Communists? How many of the steps which we discussed yesterday afternoon, and which I am sure must be taken if we are to have any chance at all, do you think you could count on Barry Goldwater's leadership to bring about, no matter how much he was beseeched, and no matter how much he himself came to feel inclined, to do so?

Or let's go at it another way. Suppose you feel that the political factor in the equation is so important that it overweights all of the others. And that if we could get a man like Barry Goldwater nominated and elected President -- or Bill Knowland or Bill Jenner or any one of a dozen others for that matter -- by 1960 or even maybe by 1964 -- the power of the presidency in the hands of such a man would be enough to save our country. Do you think that by

strictly political means and without the help of all of the other efforts on all of the other fronts, there would be the slightest chance of bringing this about? That with the present shattered condition of the Republican party, and the grip of the Leftists inside both parties on various pieces of those parties, there is going to be any slightest chance of getting a solid, courageous, uncompromising Americanist nominated by either party -- unless there are huge compelling forces at work outside of the parties which are not affected by the ubiquitous opportunism inside the parties? If anybody in this room believes, that with the slowing down of the rapidly rising Communist influence left to the organizations in the field and with the restoring of Republicanism in the Republican Party left to the politicians, there is the slightest chance of our having anything but a left-wing president in 1961, then I would be greatly surprised. We've been counting on that kind of salvation, and hence going steadily down the drain, for twenty years.

Or, more for the other illustrative points that will arise than for any hopes offered by the prospect, let's look at Richard Nixon in this connection. He is an extremely smart man. He is one of the ablest, shrewdest, most disingenuous, and slipperiest politicians that ever showed up on the American scene. He can sit in Washington one night and convince some of the most "modern" Republicans that he is the best ball-carrier they have, and spend four hours in the Waldorf Towers the next day convincing MacArthur and Herbert Hoover that he is their man. He can use the tremendously overrated and over-publicized but actually highly cautious part he played in the Alger Hiss exposure, to hang onto the hopeful loyalty of the vigorous anti-Communists, at the very time when he is insinuating himself into the good graces

of the Left by quietly knifing McCarthy.

Nixon could pose as a conservative Republican congressman, and yet be one of the original founders, in 1950, of Republican Advance. This was intended to be, not the Republican opposition to, but the Republican teammate of, Americans For Democratic Action; and it even had some interlocking leftwingers who were members of both groups.

Nixon can claim still to be vigorously anti-Communist. Yet when he has a chance, as Vice-President, to break the tie and cast the decisive vote for HR3, to reestablish some chance of prosecution of subversives actually advocating violent overthrow of our government, what happens? He moves heaven and earth to have Wallace Bennett found and pressured into voting against HR3, defeating the measure, so that the Vice-President will not have to vote.

What good would such a man be to us, even as President, unless outside forces and accomplishments made it opportunistic and expedient for him to ride an anti-Communist wave which those outside forces had created? As for being a leader, the sad truth, hard for many hopeful and wishful conservative Republicans to realize, is that Richard Nixon, a most engaging personality and clever politician, has never been a leader in connection with any event or development, or at any stage in his career. He has been a rider of waves, so far as public support was concerned, without caring whether the particular wave at any given time was moving left or right; and a manipulator, of uncanny skill, behind the scenes.

Nixon always brings to my mind the old gag that a wife is a person who helps you to get over all the troubles you wouldn't have had if you had never married; or the somewhat more elegant version that diplomats help us to solve our problems that never would have arisen if there were no diplomats. But

for the dirtiest deal in American political history, participated in if not actually engineered by Richard Nixon in order to make himself Vice-President (and to put Warren on the Supreme Court as part of that deal), Taft would have been nominated at Chicago in 1952. It is almost certain that Taft would then have been elected President by a far greater plurality than was Eisenhower, that a grand rout of the Communists in our government and in our midst would have been started, that McCarthy would be alive today, and that we wouldn't even be in this mess that we are supposed to look to Nixon to lead us out of.

And in appraising Richard Nixon's character, nobody should overlook the vicious undercover knifing of Bill Knowland by Nixon's men in California in the campaign just finished. And this is not surmise, gentlemen, but definite fact, observed at first hand, by stalwart Republicans in California, some of whom were personal friends of Nixon and at first just could not believe what they were seeing. They came to believe it all right, for Nixon was determined to get rid of Knowland once and for all, and at any cost, as a possible contender for control of the California delegation and for the nomination in 1960. This, despite the fact that from the day Nixon landed in Washington as a freshman Congressman, nobody had been nicer to him or helped him in more ways than the well-loved Senator from his own state, Bill Knowland.

Now please do not project my remarks about Nixon beyond their intended purpose. He may be the best bet we have for the Republican standard bearer in 1960, who has any chance of getting the nomination. He would be far better than Nelson Rockefeller. For while I think Nixon would ride any wave to the right or left that seemed likely to carry him farthest, I don't think he would be committed to personally

helping to make the wave go left -- as I think Nelson Rockefeller would be. I think Nixon could become a very patriotic anti-Communist if we could create circumstances in which it would be smart politics to be one; whereas I think Nelson Rockefeller would fight for further movement towards the internationalist left under any and all circumstances.

I think Nelson Rockefeller is definitely committed to trying to make the United States a part of a one-world socialist government, while I don't think Nixon is committed to anything other than the career of Richard Nixon. In that, he is neither better nor worse than most other politicians, merely smarter. I can foresee possibilities where every one of us would work for him and vote for him in 1960, despite what I have said -- as if, for instance, he were the Republican candidate against Walter Reuther or even Reuther's stooge, Jack Kennedy, on the Democratic ticket. For this reason I do not intend to put those remarks about Nixon on any tape recording I might make from these notes. But I have made them here in this really inner-circle group in order to emphasize the wisdom of the old advice: "Put not your faith in politicians." We shall have to use politicians, support politicians, create politicians, and help the best ones we can find to get elected. I am thoroughly convinced, however, that we cannot count on politicians, political leadership, or even political action except as a part of something much deeper and broader, to save us.

Now I didn't always feel that way. And I think that, up to the time the nomination was stolen from Bob Taft in 1952, it was still possible to have saved our country, from the immediate Communist danger, anyway, primarily by political action. And up until a few months ago I was still giving some thought to starting some quiet but strong non-political organizing

for political purposes right in Massachusetts, with a view to either capturing the Republican nomination for the Senate from Saltonstall in 1960 or running as an Independent as circumstances then indicated. The further idea was to try to go to the United States Senate, by supreme effort to that end, and there make such contribution as one outspoken Senator could towards stemming the tide. But my study of the whole picture convinced me more and more that: (1) No one outspoken Senator, nor a dozen outspoken Senators, and no amount of the ephemeral political support they might muster, could possibly save our country unless there was, encompassing them and their efforts and support, this far larger and broader movement to which I keep referring; (2) that there was not going to be any such movement without the dynamic overall personal leadership to which I have also been referring; and (3) that, with all of my own shortcomings, there wasn't anybody else on the horizon willing to give their whole lives to the job, with the determination and dedication I would put into it, if I didn't.

What really moved me to cross this Rubicon, however, the consideration which more than any other gradually brought me the necessary measure of courage and determination for so staggering an undertaking, was another result of many years of study, of not only the present but the past. This is the conviction that even warding off Communist slavery and reversing the socialist trend is only half the battle. We can never win even that half unless both leadership and following have a positive dream which is more important as a hope than the negative nightmare is as a fear; unless the promise of what we can build supplies more motivation than the terror of what we must destroy; and unless this faith in the future is based on a deeper faith in eternal

truths.

The nature of these truths and the tenets of this faith, which I hope and believe every man in this room can accept and approve, I shall come to later this morning. What I am trying to do here, as an introduction to, and part of, our thinking about how to rid America of the collectivist cancer, is simply this. I want to convince you, as I am convinced, that only dynamic personal leadership offers any chance for us to save either our material or our spiritual inheritance. I want to convince you, as I am convinced, that even under such leadership we have no chance unless the specific battles are fought as part of a larger and more lasting movement to restore once again an upward reach to the heart of man. And I have wished to make clear, what you were bound to be assuming already, that with whatever I have in me, of faith, dedication, and energy, I intend to offer that leadership to all who are willing to help me.

SECTION SIX

To Restore Responsibility

With that much explanation as background, let's see what basic principle we can establish and what specific objective we can define, with regard to the particular battle against collectivism, which would be sure to fit into and be encompassed by our general overall permanent purpose -- although that total spiritual aspiration is as yet only foreshadowed. For thus making sharp and clear one part of our philosophy and program, where a concrete area of action is involved, will itself help to build a better understanding of the whole.

And it seems to me, gentlemen, that the whole essence of our purpose, and the guiding principle for our action, covering not only our fight against collectivism but our fight for our constructive replacement, can be summarized in the objective expressed by just five words: Less government and more responsibility. The principle is simple enough for all to understand. The direction signs leading to the goal expressed are clear enough for nobody to misjudge them. An honest adherence to that principle and those directions, against which to test either candidates or issues, will settle in the minds of our followers and ourselves almost all questions which may arise, concerning either candidates or issues, in the field of political effort. And yet it is broad enough, I believe, to be comprehensive with regard to all that we really desire to attain through political action.

Less government and more responsibility. I mean less government of every kind, federal, state, or municipal; and more true responsibility, not only on the part of individuals but on the part of such reduced governmental units as are necessarily permitted to exist. But of course I mean, primarily, less federal government, because that is where our greatest danger lies; and more individual responsibility, because that is our greatest need.

And now I want to give you some of the arguments and the reasoning by which we must try to inculcate this fundamental principle of less government and more responsibility into the minds of our contemporaries and successors. For we must try to make it a convincing political standard and an accepted goal on the part of not only our own dedicated followers, who go all the way with our principles and our ideals, of which this is only a segment. We must try to rally behind this concept thousands or possibly millions of anxious citizens who show a vital interest in their politically determined future, but are yet to be won to a dedication to ideals of more spiritual breadth.

So, again without your leave, I am going to utilize a few extracts from a talk I made a couple of years ago at a convocation of students and faculty of Dickinson College. I do so simply because, having put a lot of work into the preparation of that speech, I can cover the present ground more succinctly and quickly by quoting from it than in any other way. And this part is not long.

What we must start asking our fellow citizens everywhere to consider, as of overwhelming importance to the future of themselves and their families, is this: On the basis of all known past human experience, are there any general conclusions, with regard to the organization of society, which can be

set forth with confidence? It seems to me clear that there certainly are.

1. First, government is necessary -- some degree of government -- in any civilized society. There are believers in the possibility and desirability of a governmentless anarchy, as a practicable form of human association. But the number of these advocates is comparatively very small, there is no evidence within human historical experience to support their thesis, and there is considerable evidence indicating otherwise.

2. Second, while government is necessary, it is basically a non-productive expense, an overhead cost supported by the productive economy. And like all overhead items, it always has a tendency to expand faster than the productive base which supports it.

3. Third, government is frequently evil. And we do not mean by this that they (governments) are merely dishonest. For all governments, with very rare exceptions indeed, are thoroughly dishonest. We made the statement in print, about two years ago, that there has never in the history of the world been a government (and this generalization includes our present one) that maintained honesty in the handling of a "managed" irredeemable currency. A few weeks later one of America's ablest and best-known economists quoted that statement with full approval.

But what we are talking about here is something far worse than dishonesty. In December, 1956, Professor Sorokin of Harvard -- after quoting Lord Acton that great men, in the political arena, are almost always bad men -- went on to reveal the results of his own survey of the criminality of rulers. This survey of the monarchs of various countries and the

heads of various republics and democracies, in a selection large enough to constitute a very fair sample, revealed that there was an average of one murderer to every four of these rulers. "In other words," said Professor Sorokin, "the rulers of the states are the most criminal group in a respective population. With a limitation of their power their criminality tends to decrease; but it still remains exceptionally high in all nations."

An obvious reason for this is the greater temptation to criminality on the part of those who control or influence the police power of a nation, of which they would otherwise stand in more fear. Another is that ambitious men with criminal tendencies naturally gravitate into government because of this very prospect of doing, or helping to do, the policing over themselves. A third reason is that so many apologists can always be found, for criminal acts of governments, on the grounds that such acts ultimately contribute to the public good and that therefore the criminal means are justified by the righteous ends.

Kautilya wrote his Arthashastra in about 300 B. C. Machiavelli wrote his Il Principe in about 1500 A. D. And the arguments of both, that it is a virtue in a ruler to be unscrupulous for the good of his state, are heard in every age.

4. Fourth, government is always and inevitably an enemy of individual freedom. It seems rather strange that it was Woodrow Wilson, who more than any other one man started this nation on its present road towards totalitarianism, who also said that the history of human liberty is a history of the limitations of governmental power, not the increase of it. But Wilson could have boasted, as did Charles II of England, that he said only wise things even though he did only foolish ones. It is self-evident that

government, by its very nature, must be an enemy of freedom, edging always towards a restriction of the individual's rights and responsibilities.

5. Whatever must be done by government will always cost more than if it could be done by individuals or smaller groups. And the larger the government, the more disproportionate will be the cost. Letting a government do anything, therefore, which such individuals or smaller groups could properly do, is serious economic wastefulness. It is also contrary to the philosophy of the proper function of government that is derived from the whole body of past experiments.

6. Government, by its size, its momentum, and its authority, will not only perpetuate errors of doctrine or of policy, longer than they would otherwise retain acceptance, but it will multiply their effect on a geometric scale, as against the arithmetically cumulative effect of those errors if confined to individuals or smaller groups. The errors of tens of thousands of individuals, all thinking and probing in different directions and moved by different impulses, tend to cancel themselves out or to be softened by the attrition of doubt and disagreement. But let any one error become sanctified by government, and thus crystallized as truth, and little short of a revolution can discredit it or cause it to be discarded.

An easy illustration of this principle is the witchcraft terror in the early days of the colonial government of Massachusetts. If there had been no governmental power to give phantasmagoria the semblance of reality by official decree, the common sense of a majority of the citizens would have kept this manifestation of fanaticism from ever having such widespread support and cruel results. But once govern-

ment had authoritatively said "This is truth," then the hitherto doubting citizen was willing to join others like himself in accepting it as truth. And we have at least a dozen idiocies, equally repugnant to man's common sense and sound experience, being perpetuated by our government in Washington today.

7. As any society becomes reasonably settled, and shakes down into a semi-permanent pattern of economic and political life, and as some degree of leisure on the part of its citizens becomes both possible and visible, the drive always begins to have government become the management of the social enterprise rather than merely its agent for certain clear purposes. Government is then increasingly allowed, invited, and even urged to do planning for, and exercise control over, the total economy of the nation. Next, it is pushed, and pushes itself, more and more into planning and control of the separate activities of the citizens and groups of citizens that make up the economic life of the nation. And in doing such planning and exercising such controls the government must assume more and more of the responsibility for the success of the economy and the welfare of its citizens.

Of course no government, short of being omniscient, can ever plan the specialized division of labor and the beneficial interchange of the various products of human effort, or can ever appraise the impact of changing circumstances and changing desires on the infinite ramifications of interrelated human activity, one half as well as the planning, appraisal, and resulting corrections will be accomplished by a completely free market if given the opportunity. For the free market automatically weighs, measures, and integrates into its decisions increments of need, of difficulty, and of motivation, that are too small, too

numerous, and too hidden for the planners ever to discover them. And the equations to be dealt with are too infinite to be resolved by any human brain or committee of human brains, even if all the variables and constants could be accurately set forth in such equations.

A government trying to step in and improve the workings of a free market is exactly like a man who takes a lighted lantern outdoors at noon of a bright June day to show you the sun. But a government's answer to any criticism as to the inadequacy of the lantern is always to bring more lanterns and then more lanterns -- until eventually the smoke and glare of the lanterns so seriously interfere with and shut off the light of the sun that everybody actually has to work mainly by lanternlight.

It is interesting to note, too, that in any society the government, and its allies who want to use the lanterns, always claim the justification that the society's economy is more complex than those which have preceded it. They insist that therefore the lanterns of planning and control are necessary and helpful now, no matter how futile and harmful they have been shown to be in the past. Of course exactly the opposite is true. The more complex the economic life of a nation becomes; the more nearly infinite the shades and grades of impulse which determine the proper interchanges and relationships between its components become; then the more impossible and ridiculous is any undertaking to plan and control those relationships, and the more the automatic working of a completely free market is needed.

8. As a government increases in power, and as a means of increasing its power, it always has a tendency to squeeze out the middle class; to destroy or weaken the middle for the benefit of the top and

the bottom. Even where there is no conscious alliance for this purpose, such as formed the basis for Bismarck's beginning of the socialization of Germany or Franklin Roosevelt's beginning of the socialization of America, the forces to that end are always at work -- as they have been in England for fifty years. In the nations that the gods would destroy they first make the middle class helpless, through insidious but irresistible government pressures.

9. The form of government is not nearly so important as its quality. Justice and a lack of arbitrariness, for instance, are two characteristics of a government that are most important to the welfare and happiness of a people. They are as likely to be found -- or more accurately, as little likely to be found -- under any one form of government as another. Rampant interference with personal lives is the most obnoxious characteristic of any government, and that is found just as readily under elected officials as under hereditary monarchs. In fact, as the Greeks pointed out, as has been well known to careful students of history ever since, and as the founding fathers of our own republic were well aware, when an elected government succeeds in attracting and maintaining an overwhelming majority behind it for any length of time, its mob instincts make it the most tyrannical of all forms of social organization.

Incidentally, a tragic result of the emphasis placed by historians and statesmen on the form of the American government has been the emulation by newly independent Asiatic nations of the wrong thing in our American system. Admiring the tremendous success of the United States, observing the unprecedented prosperity, freedom, and opportunities for happiness on the part of the people,

looking up to the United States as the example to be followed, nation after nation in other parts of the world, but especially in Asia, has copied the American government for itself. Its budding political scientists have felt that this must be the key to national success and greatness -- as it clearly would have been if they had copied the right thing, the very thing that made America great.

But what these new nations have taken for themselves are carbon copies of the American government at the time their own governments were being established. In far too many cases this has been since the New Deal had completely stultified the original virtues of the American Government. The Philippines, for instance, in 1948, took over every form of welfarism and every stifling regulation and suppression of private enterprise, and substitute therefor, which Roosevelt's newdealers had been able to impose on us even with a war to help them. The results were and still are pathetic, simply because they had been led to believe that it was the form of the American government which counted. But actually it had been the small amount of government in America throughout its centuries of mushrooming productivity, not the form of that government, which had been the vital factor of success. The Filipinos and others like them took over, instead, the excesses of government which were already in a fair way to start the decline of America itself.

10. Which brings us to the last, the most overlooked, and in my opinion the most important, of these basic generalizations concerning government. Thomas Jefferson expressed part of it in his famous dictum that that government is best which governs least. But Jefferson was thinking of the extent of a

government's power more than of the extensiveness of the government itself. And our tenth point is that neither the form of government nor its quality is as important as its quantity. A thoroughly foul government, like that of Nero, which still did not reach its tentacles too far into the daily lives and doings of its subjects, was far better for the Roman Empire in the long run than the intentionally benevolent government of Diocletian or of Constantine, whose bureaucratic agents were everywhere.

Let's dramatize this fact -- or opinion -- by bringing it closer home. And your speaker would like to have it understood that he does not condone dishonesty in the slightest degree. Yet I had rather have for America, and I am convinced America would be better off with, a government of three hundred thousand officials and agents, every single one of them a thief, than a government of three million agents with every single one of them an honest, honorable, public servant. For the first group would only steal from the American economic and political system; the second group would be bound in time to destroy it. The increasing quantity of government, in all nations, has constituted the greatest tragedy of the Twentieth Century.

Let's spotlight just one particular result of this tragic development, which has occurred in connection with man's age-old worry -- war. That result is the frequency, the length, the extensiveness, the horrible destructiveness, and the totality of impact on the population, of the wars of the Twentieth Century.

In the physical sciences we are accustomed to using combined measurements, such as foot-pounds, kilowatt-hours or man-days. Let's invent such a phrase for the measurement of war, and call it the day-number-horror unit. In the use of that three-

way calculation we multiply the days of suffering by the number of people who suffer, by the depth of the suffering, to arrive at an appraisal. Then I believe you will find that pretty generally throughout history -- despite other factors causing occasional exceptions -- and very definitely throughout recent centuries, the day-number-horrors measure of any war has been proportional to the contemporary extensiveness of government. In fact and specifically, it has been directly proportional to the product of the quantities of government in the nations involved at the time a war was fought.

Also, you will find that it is the huge quantity of government which, more than anything else, makes these tremendously destructive wars not only possible, but unavoidable. One illustration should make this statement too clear for argument. Do you want to fight the Russian people? Do you think the Russian people have the least desire to fight us? Do you think there would be the slightest chance of the American people and the Russian people fighting each other, with millions to be killed on both sides and great parts of both countries probably to be utterly destroyed, if there were only one-tenth as much government in each country as now exists? Stop and think about it for a minute.

It is not only that governments carry their peoples into horrible and utterly unnecessary wars, but it takes a very huge quantity of government to carry its people into the totalitarian struggle which war has now been made by this same quantity of government. Reduce all the governments of all the nations of the world to one-third of their present size -- not one-third of their power, note, nor are we referring to their quality, but just to one-third of their bureaucratic numbers, their extensiveness, their meddling in the lives of their subjects -- and you

would immediately accomplish two things. You would reduce the likelihood of war between hostile nations to at most one-ninth of its present probability, and the destructiveness of any wars that did take place in the same proportion.

The greatest enemy of man is, and always has been, government. And the larger, the more extensive that government, the greater the enemy.

Now clearly the United States which, throughout its early centuries, was the greatest beneficiary from the scarcity of government that the world has ever known, should not only return to the right course for its own further growth in prosperity, freedom, and happiness, but should set an example again for the whole world. In fact, the word americanist, with a small a, should be made, and become understood, as the very antithesis of socialism, and communism with a little c. For the communist -- using the word now with a little c to denote a theoretician rather than a member of the conspiracy -- the communist believes that a collectivist society should swallow up all individuals, make their lives and their energies completely subservient to the needs and the purposes of the collectivist state; and that any means are permissible to achieve this end. The true americanist believes that the individual should retain the freedom to make his own bargain with life, and the responsibility for the results of that bargain; and that means are as important as ends in the civilized social order which he desires. The same two words, with initial capitals, Communists and Americanists, should merely denote the aggressive fighters for these two mutually exclusive philosophies.

But Americanism, as either a phrase or a force on the contemporary world scene, has been eroded into something negative and defeatist. It has come

to represent merely a delaying action against the victorious march of its enemy, collectivism. The air is full of clarion calls to Americans to organize, in order better to fight against socialism, communism, or some vanguard of their forces.

Twice each day the mail brings to my desk pleas for me to contribute money, or effort, or moral support, or all three, to some group which is battling to hold back some particular advance of collectivist storm troops. Even those organizations or activities which bear a positive label are motivated by negative thinking. An association for the Bricker Amendment is, in reality, an association against the intervention of international socialist forces in the control of our domestic lives.

Americanism has become primarily a denial of something else, rather than an assertion of itself. And there are many of us who think that this should be true no longer. We think that Americanism should again come to mean, and to be, a positive, forward-looking philosophy; a design and example of social organization which boldly and confidently offers leadership along the one hard but sure road to a better world.

It is not just in the United States, of course, that all the aggressiveness is on the side of the socialist-communist allies. In the world-wide ideological struggle which divides mankind today, we conservatives fight always on the defensive. The very name by which we identify ourselves defines our objective. It is to conserve as much as we can, out of all we have inherited that is worth while, from the encroachments and destructiveness of this advancing collectivism. We build no more icons to freedom; we merely try to fend off the iconoclast.

Such has been the pattern during the whole first half of the twentieth century. From the bright plateaux

of individual freedom and individual responsibility, which man had precariously attained, there has been a steady falling back towards the dark valleys of dependence and serfdom. But this ignominious retreat has been just as true of Americans, the heirs of a strong new society, as of the tired residual legatees of an old and enfeebled European civilization. During this long and forced retreat we have fought only a rearguard and sometimes delaying action. We have never been rallied to counterattack, to break through the enemy or rout him, and to climb again beyond our highest previous gains. And in the unending skirmishes, to hold as much as possible of the ground currently occupied, we have lost all sight of the higher tablelands of freedom which once were our recognized goals. I for one, and many others like me, are no longer willing to consider only when to retreat and how far. There is a braver and a wiser course.

If we heirs of all the ages are to find a turning point in this rapid and sometimes stampeding descent, in which we are abandoning instead of improving our inheritance; if the last half of the twentieth century is to see the curve that measures individual dignity turn upward; if the men who really wish to be free and self-reliant are to begin climbing back up the mountainside; then the goal must be known, and the purpose of aggressive offense must replace defensive defeatism as the banner under which we march. It is fatal to be merely against losing ground, for then there is no way to go but back. We have to be for something; we must know what that something is; and we must believe it is worth a fight to obtain. Reduced to its simplest and broadest terms, that something is less government and more responsibility. For both less government and more responsibility bring increasing opportunities for

human happiness.

Due to the tremendous momentum given us by our hardworking, ambitious, and individualistic forefathers, our nation is still by far the most dynamic in the world in its productive processes, and in its influences on the whole world's standard of living. We must again become equally dynamic in our spiritual influence; in our positive leadership and example to provide a governmental environment in which individual man can make the most of his life in whatever way he -- and not his government -- wishes to use it.

There are many stages of welfarism, socialism, and collectivism in general, but communism is the ultimate state of them all, and they all lead inevitably in that direction. In this final stage, communism, you have a society in which class distinctions are greater than in any other, but where position in these classes is determined solely by demagogic political skill and ruthless cunning. You have a society in which all those traits which have helped to make man civilized, and which our multiple faiths have classified as virtues, are now discarded as vices -- while exactly their opposites are glorified. And you have a society in which every fault of government that we have discussed above is held to be a benefit and a desirable part of the framework of life.

But there is an exactly opposite direction. It leads towards a society in which brotherhood and kindness and tolerance and honesty and self-reliance and the integrity of the human personality are considered virtues; a society which venerates those traits exactly because they have helped the human animal to achieve some degree of humanitarian civilization, and are the common denominators of all our great religions. This direction leads toward a governmental environment for human life founded on the

basis of long experience with government; on experience which shows government to be a necessary evil, but a continuous brake on all progress and the ultimate enemy of all freedom. It is the forward direction, the upward direction -- and americanism, I hope, shall become its name.

There, gentlemen, is our argument, or that part of it which applies, as I think it should be used in the political field primarily for political purposes. To make it heard by, and really understood by, enough millions of Americans, is a colossal undertaking. But who says it cannot be done? For who has really tried? We have all been fiddling around with half way measures, with compromise measures, with delaying actions, instead of getting down to fundamental principles, standing on them with firmness, and remembering that future history is always determined by minorities who really know what they want. The whole **newdeal** march toward state socialism has been carried through and advanced to its present stage by a determined minority. We can bring about the necessary reversal of this trend if we, as a minority for what is right, stand as firm, work as hard, and give to the principles in which we believe the same dedication, as has the sophomoric minority of so-called liberals which brought us to our present crisis.

The question is not really whether we can expunge this disease of collectivism, and make America strong and healthy and a true example for all the world again, but whether we think it is worth the Herculean effort, the sacrifice and dedication, that would be required. I think it would, and I am hoping you think so too.

SECTION SEVEN

And Help To Build A Better World

Gentlemen, this is the last of these formal divisions of my monologic presentation. And I want to begin it by reading to you the first three stanzas of O'Shaughnessy's great ode, The Music Makers.

We are the music-makers,
And we are the dreamers of dreams,
Wandering by lone sea-breakers,
And sitting by desolate streams;
World-losers and world-forsakers,
On whom the pale moon gleams:
Yet we are the movers and shakers
Of the world forever it seems.

With wonderful deathless ditties
We build up the world's great cities,
And out of a fabulous story
We fashion an empire's glory:
One man with a dream, at pleasure,
Shall go forth and conquer a crown;
And three with a new song's measure
Can trample an empire down.

We, in the ages lying
In the buried past of the earth,
Built Nineveh with our sighing,
And Babel itself with our mirth;
And o'erthrew them with prophesying
To the old of the new world's worth;

For each age is a dream that is dying,
Or one that is coming to birth.

Now the whole poem, including the many stanzas I did not read, seems to me an impressive tribute to the power of imagination to design and direct the course of history. But I really read that much of it simply to put in their proper setting just these two lines:

"For each age is a dream that is dying,
Or one that is coming to birth."

For the last fifty years our age has been a dream that was dying. To this very group, at this very moment, I am proposing that we turn our faces forward instead of backward, begin to make even our defensive actions fit into a constructive design, and do our part to usher in a new age that is coming to birth.

I don't expect the New York Times to begin announcing excitedly in January that obviously the world started on a new era in Indianapolis in December, 1958. Of course it is only the work we do afterwards, the work we persuade and inspire others to do, and the long results and widening reach of both, that can make of this meeting anything but a two-day seminar in philosophy and current affairs. But if every man here should leave tonight feeling in his own mind that he had been at the beginning of a new chapter in history, it would be true. It would be true no matter how long the historians might take to find it out.

The basic reason why the old age is dying, as I tried to make clear yesterday, is that the faith which was the core of its strength no longer commands the unquestioning loyalty of enough of its devotees. For the dream of any nation or any people must depend on faith. The foundation of our new dream must be

faith, or it will never come to pass. Where is this faith, and what is this faith, so true that neither our hearts nor our reasons can deny it, so broad that it takes in without violation the faith of our fathers, and so deep that it can inspire martyrdom at need. As to where, it is right in front of us; and as to what, it is exactly what we in this room already and actually believe. To try to make this clear, in the only convincing way I know, I'm going to do what no man likes to do. I'm going to try to tell you what I really believe, in the areas that are considered parts of a man's religion. For Emerson said it is the outlook of genius to feel that what is true of yourself is also true of all mankind. Making no claim to genius, I'll still try to imitate one for this occasion.

Now first let me repeat here, for the devout Catholics and fundamentalist Protestants who are among my best friends and strongest supporters, that it is no part of my purpose to disturb their beliefs in the slightest -- or the beliefs of any man or woman who really does have a religious faith instead of just the shell of one. What I am concerned about, what we must all be vitally concerned about today, as the very essence of our problem, is morality, integrity, and purpose.

That morality must be based on a bedrock of faith. For those who already have such a bedrock of faith, and stand on it and abide by it, I can offer nothing, and I would certainly take away nothing. But for those who are no longer sure exactly where they do stand, on what rocks or how firmly, I want to try to show them that all of these bedrocks together constitute a foundation with room and strength for us all. For unless we willingly anchor our moral judgments to eternal truths, we become just chaff, blown all ways before the winds of confusion. So

let me, however reluctantly, point to the rocks of my own faith -- not for the devout and the fundamentalists who do not need it -- but for others whom possibly I may help.

The keystone to my own religious belief, I think, was best delineated by Tennyson in just one great line:

"For I doubt not through the ages
one increasing purpose runs."

Neither Tennyson nor any other sane man could doubt this fact, as we shall emphasize presently. But first, let us ask, whose purpose? God's? Or man's? But if man has had one increasing purpose through the ages, from what source did it come, and who decided what the direction of that purpose was to be?

The fundamentalist Christian says immediately that a Divine Being created man, with this purpose predetermined. And I agree. Nor do I wish to disturb his understanding of how God created man. I personally think that, at the present level of our knowledge, we must conceive of this Divine Being having done so by creating Milky Ways and astronomical universes, with laws and purposes which caused planets like our Earth to develop; and by creating evolutionary forces which both produced man and endowed him with purpose greater than his individual self.

I think that if this Creator allows man to continue to grow, and his purpose to continue to increase, our knowledge will reach a level in another few thousand years where even this concept will seem far too detailed, against the broader and larger forces we can then glimpse; that even this present concept will seem to have viewed the Creator as far too close,

too understandable, and too provincial a Power, against the remoteness, majesty, and omnipotence then conceivable. Just as the details of man's creation, as our forefathers understood the book of Genesis, seem to some of us now to have obscured a concept of incredible grandeur by man's egocentric insistence on bringing God down almost to his own size. But -- our fundamentalist ancestors believed that God created man, and God is great. We must agree, completely. We merely feel today that God is infinitely greater than those ancestors were yet allowed to see.

When we first start to study mathematics the childish mind finally grasps that such large numbers as one thousand times one thousand do not make any dent on the measure of infinity. But it is hard for the child to realize that neither does a billion to the billionth power put him one whit nearer to the edges of infinity than before he started. And adult man finds the same difficulty with his religious concepts.

It is hard for man to realize that the Infinite still remains infinite, untouched in Its remoteness and unreduced in Its infinity by man's most ambitious approaches; or that all of man's increasing knowledge leaves the Unknowable just as completely unknowable as before. But I think that, being allowed now to grasp this truth, we should cease to quarrel and disagree over how close we are to God. For we are using a term which, in a literal context, or objectively, has no meaning. We can then each put the God we worship as close to ourselves, subjectively, as our own faith and understanding dictate. And agreeing that a Creator greater than ourselves has visibly endowed us with purpose, we can give far more of our energy and dedication to serving that purpose better.

That there is a purpose in man beyond anything

called for by his individual needs, and far greater than his personal desires, can be denied only by the most depraved maniac or the most ignorant fool. One of the best summarizations of the force and beauty and eternal quality of that purpose is contained in William Herbert Carruth's Each In His Own Tongue, which I should like to recall to your minds.

And gentlemen, lest some of you think there is anything blasphemous or even too secular in my repeated reference to the poets in this discussion, let me point out to you that the men who wrote many of the books of the Old Testament, and those who wrote most of the books of the New Testament, were the poetic spirits of their respective ages. Theirs were the minds on which their contemporaries and successors depended to interpret and phrase man's most profound thoughts, most permanent beliefs, and deepest faith. Those same interpretations and recordings and expressions of man's developing experiences, beliefs, and faith do not come to us today as further books added to our Bible; but they are being given to us, with greater and easier understanding than we might otherwise achieve, by the same kind of reverent and poetic minds. So here is Carruth's justly famous poem:

A fire-mist and a planet, --
A crystal and a cell, --
A jellyfish and a saurian,
 And caves where the cave-men dwell;
Then a sense of law and beauty,
 And a face turned from the clod, --
Some call it Evolution,
 And others call it God.

A haze on the far horizon,
 The infinite, tender sky,

The ripe, rich tint of the cornfields,
And the wild geese sailing high, --
And all over upland and lowland
The charm of the goldenrod, --
Some of us call it Autumn,
And others call it God.

Like tides on a crescent sea-beach,
When the moon is new and thin,
Into our hearts high yearnings
Come welling and surging in, --
Come from the mystic ocean,
Whose rim no foot has trod, --
Some of us call it Longing,
And others call it God.

A picket frozen on duty, --
A mother starved for her brood, --
Socrates drinking the hemlock,
And Jesus on the rood;
And millions who, humble and nameless,
The straight, hard pathway plod, --
Some call it Consecration,
And others call it God.

Who can read that, realize the incontrovertible and wonderful truth of the story of man's purpose at work which the poet tells, and fail to feel reverently bound to serve that same purpose faithfully and well?

This brings me to the second keystone, if any such contradictory figure of speech is allowed, in my own personal belief. It is the answer to the question: What is that purpose? And this too has been summarized by yet another poet, Harry Kemp, in just one brilliant line: "Thou hast put an upward reach in the heart of man." In fact it seems to me that, to make us truly religious, we do not need to know

anything more about God, man, and man's relationship to God than is given by a reverent understanding of that line: "Thou has put an upward reach in the heart of man." And again it makes no difference to me, and it is a subjective matter which should cause no disagreement between us, how each one feels that this upward reach has been inculcated into the heart of man. But the thoroughness with which it has been done is a majestic revelation.

For look with me first at the common denominators of all of our great religions. That man shall not steal, which further means that man shall recognize and respect property rights, is common to them all. So is the injunction that man shall not murder nor harm his fellow man. So are the concepts of kindness, and charity, and restraint of appetites, and industriousness, and respect for age and experience, and gratitude for favors received, and an individual's responsibility for his trespasses, and the expectation of justice, and faith in a happier future, and obeisance to the laws and morals and temporal government of the time and age, and a reverence for a Power or Powers greater than man himself. And of course a dozen others, both general and specific, that I have not named.

But, gentlemen, please note, these are also exactly the characteristics with which evolutionary selection has gradually endowed man, to enable him to rise out of an animal existence, haltingly but surely towards a more humane civilization and a promise of a tremendously more wonderful future. In fact the very word "upward," as we use it here, can be taken to describe and define those traits which, found in some species and not found in others, caused those favored species to outstrip their rivals, and to come upward through the evolutionary competition, until one such species became civilized

man. One philosopher will tell you that the possession of these upward traits in some species was purely an accident of nature; another that it was due to the plan of a Divine Being. To me they are both saying the same thing.

Let's take one or two very simple illustrations. Today man finds a rose garden beautiful, and the view of clear running water so pleasurable that he builds countless fountains to make his landscapes charming. Originally, of course, the presence of flowers like the rose meant fertile soil, the kind of sunny climate in which birds and bees and man all thrived, and the absence of noxious jungle; while clear running water originally meant that man had escaped from desert or jungle to an area to which he was far better adjusted for sustaining life and making it more pleasant. But do these facts from man's biological history make the rose or running water, or man's love for both, any less wonderful?

The same thing is true with regard to those gradually acquired characteristics of his own animal nature and later human personality, which converted him from monkey to primate, to barbarian, then to a man so far civilized that the male proposes deferentially to the weaker female before he will even touch her, in satisfaction of the second strongest impulse of his being. Does the fact that these characteristics, which together constitute the "upward reach," were acquired by man, or given to him, through the mechanics of evolutionary competition -- if they were -- does this make them any less wonderful, or reduce in the slightest our gratitude to a Creator who provided that upward reach? Why do we have to feel that the best qualities of man were given to us full-blown by some more direct magic? Or how could any magic be greater than that so inadequately described here? More important than

either question, what difference does it make, so far as our clear duty to use and strengthen all impulses of the "upward reach" is concerned?

Not only are we a part of some mighty purpose beyond our understanding, and not only do we have a clear duty to be true to that purpose to the fullest extent that we are allowed to grasp its workings and its direction; but all human experience shows that the total happiness of any generation and of its posterity is directly tied to the respect of that generation for the "upward reach" in man's nature. We have all the reason here that man can ask, divine or human or pragmatic, for keeping our consciences attuned to the emotions and impulses which increase man's "upward reach," and for then obeying those consciences -- obeying by commission as well as omission -- to the utmost of our respective will powers and abilities.

Now let me assure you that, in my opinion, all of this brief adventure into theological philosophy does have direct bearing on even the most practical problems we are here to consider. And since I am hereby participating in the first confessional of my life, and wearing my heart more openly on my sleeve than I have ever done before, let me go all of the way and translate these basic motivations into the specific form in which their impact hammers away with a comforting persistence on my particular conscience.

I first broke through the intellectually restricting bonds of the unusually narrow Southern Baptist fundamentalism, in which I was raised, more than forty years ago. I loved everything about it except the specific details of its dogma. As a result of its teachings I saw myself as the inheritor of all the labor and sacrifice that had gone before me, by men who had used this God-given "upward reach." They had used it to provide the moral codes, the humane

traditions, the accumulation of knowledge, and the material comforts, to make me so fortunate an heir of so many ages -- to whatever extent I was equal to my inheritance. I felt myself bound by a gentleman's code, which is just another way of expressing continuing human brotherhood or loyalty, to live up to the standards and carry on the ideals of men who had died hundreds and even thousands of years before I was born.

The substance of my conscience, as I believe it is really the substance of the conscience of every man in this room, was gratitude and a corresponding sense of responsibility. Gratitude, if you will let me paraphrase Henley's line without the slightest implication of blasphemy -- gratitude to whatever God there was, and gratitude to all of the noble men of the past, for the life and the environment for that life which was given me; and responsibility, to God and man, to be worthy, so far as I was able, of the human race at its best. And gentlemen, what firmer foundation can we possibly need for the faith on which to build our new age and with which to inaugurate the dream that is coming to birth?

Wherever we turn, in looking at whatever blessings we have for the present and hopes for the future, we find a need for gratitude that makes the acceptance of responsibility a duty and a source of inward happiness. Consider, for instance and for an instant, the blessing of freedom. Kipling once wrote truly:

"All we know of freedom, all we need to
know,

This our fathers won for us, long and
long ago."

Are we, as Lowell put it, going to be "traitors to our sires," and lose that freedom for our children and their children? Macaulay had Horatius say:

"And how can man die better

Than facing fearful odds
For the ashes of his fathers
And the temples of his Gods?"

And so we ask ourselves in simple sincerity, as I did in the article, A Letter To Khrushchev -- if it becomes necessary, just how can man die better, especially if in doing so he appreciably reduces the odds faced by his compatriots, in their fight against the overwhelming forces of evil threatening us today?

But our reason for gratitude and corresponding responsibility extends to every field and corner of the civilization we now enjoy -- perhaps for so short a time longer. It is worthwhile remembering, now and then, men like Hugh Latimer. In 1555, when he and his friend Ridley were being burned at the stake for heresy, and all he had to do to save his life was to say the proper words of recantation, his veneration for spiritual freedom and truth caused him to say instead: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out." There are thousands of men like him, to whose veneration for the upward reach in the heart of man we owe the very fact that we can sit in this room today and discuss religious matters without fear.

But it is not even to the martyrs, perhaps, that we owe the most. There have been missionaries and scholars, the Catholic monks of the Middle Ages, poets and philosophers, builders and explorers, statesmen and scientists, throughout centuries receding into the unknown past, who have toiled and dreamed and sacrificed and died that you and I might have the comforts and freedoms and hopes that we enjoy now in so fair and happy a land.

One of the worst and most sadly disturbing traits

of many of our young people today is that they take their inheritance for granted, and have no thought of its cost. This is a vital part of the moral breakdown that is endangering our civilization. It shows how basic and necessary a component of faith is man's feeling of continuity and gratitude. Let us, with a faith for the future based on this very principle of gratitude to God and man, lived up to by ourselves, and made a living and articulate faith for others by both example and teaching -- let us try to bring many of these young people, who are now at loose ends because of their lack of any faith, back into the conscious current of man's increasing purpose. For a code of honor and an ennobling sense of responsibility are themselves gifts to the human soul which have been won by its upward reach.

And so, gentlemen, I have tried to give you, freely and frankly, the substance of my own religious beliefs. And without any claim to goodness, wisdom, or originality, I have tried, in far too short a time for so huge a subject, to indicate to you the elements of a faith which, I still hope and believe, is shared by all of you, no matter how differently you might have explained or expressed it. It is a faith for which I have earnestly hoped that it might encompass the individual beliefs of most men of good will; that it might refill our ancient founts of inspiration; and that it would become a basis and a beginning of renewed dedication to a dream of man's future.

SECTION EIGHT

Through The John Birch Society

Now, how do we go about asking men, in the words of Santayana, to "trust the soul's invincible surmise?" How do we go about all of the immediately more urgent tasks and undertakings which I have been foreshadowing -- of which this moral and ethical base is the bedrock, to be chiseled into a more recognizable foundation as we go along? We come at long last to the question of ways and means and methods -- to what our bureaucratic friends would call implementation -- in connection with all of these plans and aims and hopes.

In the earlier sections of this long and fragmented discourse I used the word "organization" several times in connection with suggested future plans. It was a very broad and inaccurate term, employed because no other was available to convey the thought there being expressed without too much interruption of that thought. But the "organization" of which I am thinking is of an entirely different nature from anything that word might at first bring to your minds, just as the raising of resources is of a far more drastic and more realistic nature than anything attempted in this fight before.

I am proposing, as the most immediately tangible outcome of this meeting, the formation of The John Birch Society. And I ask you not to give undue thought, at present, to the name. In the small packets for each of you there are copies of my little book, THE LIFE OF JOHN BIRCH. I hope you will read

it when you have the opportunity, if you have not already done so -- or even if you have.

You will find that John Birch, a young fundamentalist Baptist preacher from Macon, Georgia, who did as much as any other one man, high or low, to win our war and the Chinese war against the Japanese in China, was murdered by the Chinese Communists at the first opportunity after the war because of the powerful resistance he would have been able to inspire against them. You will find, and I believe agree, that John Birch possessed in his own character all of those noble traits and ideals which we should like to see become symbolized by The John Birch Society. And the kind of life, of peaceful opportunity and responsibility, which John Birch wanted for his fellow Americans, and for his Chinese friends, and for all men of good will, is exactly the kind of life we should like to see possible everywhere. We could use other names than that of John Birch, of course. But I think you will gradually see, as time and meditation do their work, that the name is fitting, significant, and helpful, in many ways and for many reasons.

It is important that it should be, for I am not suggesting any ephemeral organization of loose ties and uncertain loyalties. It is my fervent hope that The John Birch Society will last for hundreds of years, and exert an increasing influence for the temporal good and the spiritual ennoblement of mankind throughout those centuries. For I am staking my whole aspiration to play my part, in forwarding man's one increasing purpose, on whatever can be accomplished through The John Birch Society. I want no other title than that of its Founder, and have no other ambition for anything resembling fame or historical remembrance.

The John Birch Society is to be a monolithic body.

A republican form of government or of organization has many attractions and advantages, under certain favorable conditions. But under less happy circumstances it lends itself too readily to infiltration, distortion and disruption. And democracy, of course, in government or organization, as the Greeks and Romans both found out, and as I believe every man in this room clearly recognizes -- democracy is merely a deceptive phrase, a weapon of demagoguery, and a perennial fraud.

For withstanding the stresses and strains of internal differences and external animosities, throughout changing political climates over long periods of time; for the building of morale and loyalty and a feeling of unified purpose and closely knit strength; for effective functioning in periods of crisis and a permanence of high dedication throughout more peaceful decades; for these and many other reasons The John Birch Society will operate under completely authoritative control at all levels. The fear of tyrannical oppression of individuals, and other arguments against the authoritative structure in the form of governments, have little bearing on the case of a voluntary association, where the authoritative power can be exercised and enforced only by persuasion. And what little validity they do have is outweighed by the advantages of firm and positive direction of the Society's energies. Especially for the near future, and for the fight against Communism which is the first great task of the Society, it is imperative that all the strength we can muster be subject to smoothly functioning direction from the top. As I have said before, no collection of debating societies is ever going to stop the Communist conspiracy from taking us over, and I have no intention of adding another frustrated group to their number. We mean business every step of the way.

There are many reasons why, in the fight immediately ahead, we cannot stop for parliamentary procedures or a lot of arguments among ourselves. One is the increasing confusion, cleverly planned by the Communists, as to what persons, books, activities and organizations really are anti-Communist. In other words we are now being more and more divided and deceived, by accepting within our walls more and more Trojan horses, large and small, made out of all kinds of timbers, and with all kinds of enemy agents inside. Some of them have no more harmful purpose than merely to drain off, into innocuous wastefulness, money and effort which might otherwise find its way into really patriotic and anti-Communist activities. Others are primarily designed to offer protective coloration to Communists who can thus get themselves publicized as active in anti-Communist organizations. Others, like the very pretentious AMERICAN FRIENDS OF VIETNAM, in my opinion form major parts of a whole plan and drive for gradually turning some country over to the Communists, while pretending to be leading the opposition. But most of them are intended, as much as anything else, to add to and create the increasing confusion which makes even the most patriotic American feel utterly frustrated in trying to figure out who is friend and who is enemy -- and hence more willing to give up the whole struggle.

Now there are ways of sizing up both individuals and organizations in this battle, which come only with experience, a knowledge of the interlocking pieces and personalities, and a feel for the way the Communists work. And while of course I can make mistakes too, I know from the way my opinion of various characters, formed entirely independently, has then proved to coincide with the opinion of J. B. Matthews, time after time when I have had a chance

to check with him, that I have a fairly sensitive and accurate nose in this area. And of course I also have the benefit of J. B.'s files, almost incredible memory, and judgment built out of long experience, to lean on whenever I wish. So we do not intend to be frustrated by indecisions of this nature nor to let our members be. But the confusion and the problem will get steadily worse; and the need for somebody who can simply say "Help this guy, or let him help you, but stay away from that one" is also going to increase.

Actually, we are going to cut through the red tape and parliamentary briar patches and road blocks of confused purpose with direct authority at every turn. The men who join The John Birch Society during the next few months or few years are going to be doing so primarily because they believe in me and what I am doing and are willing to accept my leadership anyway. And we are going to use that loyalty, like every other resource, to the fullest possible advantage that we can. Whenever and wherever, either through infiltration by the enemy or honest differences of opinion, that loyalty ceases to be sufficient to keep some fragment in line, we are not going to be in the position of having the Society's work weakened by raging debates. We are not going to have factions developing on the two-sides-to-every question theme.

Those members who cease to feel the necessary degree of loyalty can either resign or will be put out before they build up any splintering following of their own inside the Society. As I have said, we mean business every step of the way. We can allow for differences of opinion. We shall need and welcome advice. And we expect to use the normal measure of diplomacy always called for in dealing with human beings. But whenever differences of opinion become

translated into a lack of loyal support, we shall have short cuts for eliminating both without going through any congress of so-called democratic processes. Otherwise, Communist infiltrators could bog us down in interminable disagreements, schisms, and feuds before we ever became seriously effective.

The purpose of The John Birch Society, as officially stated, will be to promote less government, more responsibility, and a better world. The purpose, as unofficially described and discussed among ourselves will be exactly the same thing. Our short-range purpose, our long-range purpose, and our lasting purpose, is to promote less government, more responsibility, and a better world. That says it all. It is, I think, simple, understandable, and all-inclusive as to the goals for which we should strive.

In seeking the first two of those broad objectives, less government and more responsibility, we shall make all the use we can of educational action on the political front. In always seeking more slowly, but with an inner unswerving resolution, to make this a better world, we shall use all means and depend on all efforts that are consistent with the faith which supplies our motivation.

In the political arena we shall try to make the word Americanism useful as a constructive opposite of Communism, and attract to our support many americanists who may not be members of our Society. But the words americanism and americanist are simply semantic weapons, and have no direct connection with The John Birch Society.

Members of The John Birch Society, not only in the United States, but anywhere in the world, not only can be good patriots in their respective countries, but necessarily will be. For internationalism, as it is conceived and promoted today, is an

attempt to impose more government and a more centralized one-world government on all of us everywhere. For that reason it is automatically contrary to everything we stand for, and one of the movements we shall oppose with all the strength we can.

An honestly intended federation of nations, in some later years or decades, for the legitimate purpose of increasing the freedom of individuals, goods, and cultures to cross national boundaries, and hence for the very purpose of decreasing governmental restrictions on individuals, is something we would support with all our hearts. But until the intended Communist Internationale now called the United Nations has been wiped out or made over from the bottom up, our attitude towards so-called internationalism is made clear and uncompromising by the stated purpose of the Society. As Richard Cobden said, "peace will come to this earth when her peoples have as much as possible to do with each other; their governments the least possible." It is axiomatic that we shall strive to hasten the world's approach to those conditions in every way we can.

* * * *

We come now to the question which I know has been in the forefront of the thoughts of some of you for quite a while. What are the organizational mechanics of The John Birch Society, and how do we go about building up its membership so that it is anything but paper and conversation?

The John Birch Society will function almost entirely through small local chapters, usually of from ten to twenty dedicated patriots, although some chapters may occasionally, and for a while, be larger. Each will have a Chapter Leader, appointed

by headquarters, which is in Belmont, Massachusetts; or appointed through officers of the Society, in the field, who have themselves been duly appointed by headquarters. The dues are whatever the member wants to make them, with a minimum of \$24.00 per year for men and \$12.00 per year for women. But we shall prefer to have these dues paid by each member of a local chapter monthly, at \$2.00 per month for men and \$1.00 per month for women, to his or her Chapter Leader. This is for many reasons, some of which are obvious; and it will be the responsibility of each Chapter Leader to collect such dues regularly and forward them to headquarters.

Because we shall have people who want to join The John Birch Society, however, in parts of the country where we do not yet have any chance of establishing chapters, and because for a while their number will increase, we also have a Home Chapter which they can join. The differences are that we cannot afford to have dues paid to the Home Chapter except annually in one lump sum of \$24.00 (or more) for men and \$12.00 (or more) for women, because otherwise we should dissipate too much of the dues money in bookkeeping costs; and that our contact with Home Chapter members will be largely through printed bulletins -- even as to the work we ask them to do -- rather than through personal contact.

In the case of local chapters we shall expect the Chapter Leader to get all of his or her members together at least once a month, and in many cases oftener, as well as on any special occasions which may make such a meeting advisable. And we expect the Chapter Leader to be in practically continuous contact with his or her members to whatever extent may be necessary in order to pass on or receive information and to carry out various concerted efforts as requested from headquarters.

For handling the organizational mechanics of the Society, and for helping to form new chapters, we shall have a paid staff man, with the title of Coordinator, for each area of the proper size. Above these Coordinators, in time, we shall have supervisors with the rank or title of Major Coordinators; and we shall further build the organizational framework from the bottom up, as made necessary by sufficient membership, in order to keep strict and careful control on what every chapter is doing, and even every member of every chapter so far as the effective work of The John Birch Society is concerned.

Let me point out here, too, that while such Coordinators and eventually Major Coordinators will receive salaries and expenses according to their work and their abilities, neither the chapter members nor even the Chapter Leaders who form the base of our Society, and who cumulatively do most of the work that counts, nor I myself and other top officers, will receive any pay whatsoever. It is only those in the middle who will receive any remuneration, because there is where we simply must utilize paid staff for organizational needs.

We are out to get a million members truly dedicated to the things in which we believe. This, we are well aware, will take time, and tremendous effort, and dedication on our own part greater than that we ask of anybody else. But there are a million good patriots, who are also men and women of good will and good character and humane conscience, in America, who are just waiting to join The John Birch Society as fast as we can carry the story to them. There are a million such men and women in America who would join The John Birch Society tonight if they knew as much about it as you men in this room do right now. And I think that a million

members is all we would want, at least in the United States. For we need disciplined pullers at the oars, and not passengers in the boat.

Now that last statement may put you in mind of the Communist principle of "the dedicated few," as enunciated by Lenin. And we are, in fact, willing to draw on all successful human experience in organizational matters, so long as it does not involve any sacrifice of morality in the means used to achieve an end. But the Communists have asked their followers to devote to the cause "the whole of their lives." We assuredly do not. For if you were required to make everything else subordinate, and give to The John Birch Society the whole of your lives, we might as well let the Communists take over in the first place. That is exactly the kind of collectivism, of submerging the individual in the whole, against which we are fighting. And while there will be some of us, an increasing number, but still a small minority, who will actually be giving practically the whole of our lives to this cause, we neither ask nor expect so much from the vast majority of our members. Our very goal is to save an americanist system and a civilization in which a person's individual purposes, needs, and desires, and those of his family, are given first consideration.

But on the other hand, let me point out and emphasize that we are expecting far more work and dedication, and far more sacrifice of other interests, on the part of those who do become members of The John Birch Society, than you ever thought of giving to any other organization which you joined or even considered joining. For unless we have the cumulative weight and effect of such solid effort and sacrifice on the part of our members, as a weapon to be wielded against the Communists, we are certainly not going to be able to hold onto even the increasingly

confused, dark, and immoral world we now have, much less help to build a better one.

And of course, from this particular group, we are looking for real money as well as earnest effort. We hope to have thirty thousand dedicated members by the end of 1959. It will be a major accomplishment if we do. But it will certainly take all of the dues money as a general rule, from those members, just for the organizational expense of recruiting them, supervising their activities, and making them effective. For money with which to work on most of the projects I outlined yesterday afternoon we have to look for larger sums from other sources than dues.

For that purpose we want to raise a million dollars of such "outside" funds during the year. It will not be easy, and even that amount is an awfully small drop in the bucket, against what either the direct Communist propagandists or the Reutherite labor bosses are spending against us. But I believe we can get it; and I believe we can make even that much do wonders in adding new courage and new confidence to the anti-Communist fight. There are bound to be some mistakes and some waste in something so much like a crash program, but we shall do our utmost by clear thinking and careful planning to keep those mistakes and that waste to an absolute minimum, and to make every dollar count.

I expect to be conducting, in person, one top-level two-day meeting like this per month. We shall soon have tape recordings of this whole presentation, which our Coordinators can play for small groups wherever they may be assembled for that purpose. We shall encourage proselytizing at all levels, for new members of both our local chapters and our Home Chapter. And we must gain both moral and financial support steadily, or we shall not be in position to do the things that have to be done, as fast

as we need to do them. For, as I have said, we are not kidding, or just talking, and we do mean business every step of the way.

As I see it, I am afraid you have just two alternatives. Either you, and tens of thousands like you, come into The John Birch Society and, without giving it the whole of your lives, still devote to its purposes the best and most you can offer, with money and head and heart as well as hands; or in a very few years you will, by force, be devoting all to the maintenance of a Communist slave state. So we are asking for a lot, and we want you to know it, if and when you sign an application blank for membership in The John Birch Society.

That brings us next to a consideration as to the very nature of our undertaking which needs to be made clear. For all revolutions, as Metternich once pointed out, begin in the best minds and work downward. While most religions begin at the bottom, with the masses, and gradually acquire both respectability and acceptance at the top. We are neither, and both.

Far from founding a religion, we are merely urging Protestants, Catholics, Jews or Moslems to be better Christians, better Jews, or better Moslems, in accordance with the deepest and most humanitarian promptings of their own religious beliefs. And we are simply trying to draw a circle of faith in God's power and purpose, and of man's relationship to both, which is broad and inclusive enough to take each man's specific faith into that circle without violation. Yet the evangelical fervor, with which we expect our members to fight the forces of evil and work for a better world, makes certain principles with regard to religious groups apply to ourselves.

We are not beginning any revolution, nor even a

counter-revolution, in any technical sense; because, while we are opposing a conspiracy, we are not ourselves making use of conspiratorial methods. Yet our determination to overthrow an entrenched tyranny is the very stuff out of which revolutions are made.

The net result of these reflections is that we are not a copy of any movement of the past. We are unique. We are ourselves. We are something new, as befits a moving force for a new age. We believe in profiting by all human experience, but we shall make our own amalgam of the organizational metals forged by that experience with the mercury of our own purpose. Without donning sackcloth and ashes we shall try to inspire saintly men to join our efforts to make this a better world; and without building barricades in the streets we shall still try to rally rational men to our efforts to preserve the best of the world we already have.

And now, gentlemen, I am nearing the end of the semi-formal part of this long undertaking. I have tried to establish fundamental and permanent objectives, much broader than the fight against the Communist conspiracy, because I am convinced that these ultimate long-range objectives are more important than the defeat of the Communist conspiracy. But also because I am utterly convinced that we cannot stop the Communists unless our efforts are a part of such a broader and more constructive purpose.

Yet, it is the threat of the Communist conspiracy that brought us here. Stopping the Communists, and destroying their conspiracy, or at least breaking its grip on our government and shattering its power within the United States, not only must occupy the front spot and most important spot in all of our thinking. It is the driving danger which should determine our thinking about almost everything else, and

most of our actions too, for the foreseeable future. For unless we can win that battle, the war for a better world will again be carried on through long and feudal Dark Ages, after we have been killed, our children have been enslaved, and all that we value has been destroyed. That is not rhetoric, and it is not exaggeration. It is a plain statement of the stark danger that is rapidly closing in on us right now.

It is the imminence and horror of this danger which drives me to so desperate a course as to offer myself as a personal leader in this fight, and to ask you to follow that leadership. It is not because I want so frightening a responsibility. And it is certainly not because I think that you gentlemen, as good friends of mine as most of you are, recognize any such qualities of leadership in me as would make me a happy choice for the role. It's just that I don't know where you, or all of us, are going to find anybody else to undertake the job. And because I know in my own mind, beyond all doubt or question, that without dynamic personal leadership around which the split and frustrated and confused forces on our side can be rallied, rapidly and firmly, we do not have a chance of stopping the Communists before they have taken over our country. It is not that you would choose me, or that I would even choose me, against other possibilities. It is simply that, under the pressure of time and the exigencies of our need, you have no other choice, and neither do I.

As to what is expected of you, in either effort or money, if you are thinking of half-way measures we might as well quit now. But I might as well also reveal my fanaticism by telling you that there is no force and no discouragement which could make me quit or even put less of my life and energy into the struggle. If every man in this room should decide,

for whatever reason, that he wants no part of my proposals, I would simply go back to small groups of plain citizens in Massachusetts, and myself start organizing local chapters of The John Birch Society at the working levels. I would be greatly saddened, because of my feeling that, without all of the most powerful help that can possibly be mustered on our side, in short order and effectively, our chances would be so small. But my determination would not even be affected. The last resort of my own mind has been expressed by Louise Imogene Guiney:

To fear not sensible failure
Nor covet the game at all,
But fighting, fighting, fighting
Die, driven against the wall.

I repeat, however, that we do not have to die driven against any wall, nor do we have to lose this struggle at all. As I have said elsewhere, there is enough strength, enough money, enough intelligence, and enough patriotism in the vast business community of America, to form the nucleus that will stop, and destroy, the Communist conspiracy -- if we can stir it to action in time. What I am proposing here is the mechanics, and the leadership through men like yourselves, by which it can be stirred to action and that action made effective.

In 1927 some of the Communists, after years of work and infiltration by Borodin, Galen, Earl Browder, and other agents, thought they were ready to take over China. Taking advantage of all the splits and confusion in the Kuomintang which they had caused, and of Chiang Kai-shek's problems with his Northern Expedition for the unification of China, the Communists caused a massacre of foreigners by troops he had left behind him, set up their version of a

central government in Hankow, and were ready to seize control.

Among other measures which Chiang took was to go to the merchants of Shanghai for help. And remember, Chiang Kai-shek was, in their minds, associated with Canton and the government in the South, with which they were not yet even in sympathy. But he was able to convince the merchants of Shanghai of exactly what the Communists intended, and that this was a matter of life and death against a ruthless enemy who stopped at nothing. The merchants of Shanghai raised the equivalent of three million dollars of American money, and turned it over to Chiang with no strings attached.

With that money, with the ability it gave him to feed his soldiers and send his civilian agents into other provinces of China to explain his aims, and with other steps it enabled him to take, Chiang was able to throw the Communists out of Hankow, send rats like Borodin, Galen, and Browder scurrying back to their homelands, and save China from the Communists for twenty more years. But for the overwhelming forces from the outside which our government then helped to turn loose on him, Chiang would have been able to keep China free from the Communists to this day. But he gained twenty years respite as it was.

Now gentlemen, just stop and think how much money three million American dollars was to the merchants of one Chinese city in 1927. Then tell me that, if the American business community or the American people had that kind of determination and were willing to make that kind of sacrifice, to preserve their freedom and their inheritance, they couldn't stop the Communists. It would be nonsense. A part of our job is not only to have that kind of determination and make that kind of sacrifice our-

selves, but to convince others of the necessity of doing so.

As one man in this room said to me a few months ago, it is better to spend a quarter or even half of all we own, and save our lives and the remainder of our possessions, than to lose lives and total possessions by fighting with too little and too late. I not only agree. I have acted on that principle in my small way. Not only has it seemed to me better to spend the money I had saved, in waking up a few more of my fellow citizens to the danger; but I am far more comfortable working sixteen hours a day, seven days per week, on the same problem and without pay, than I would be in a concentration camp behind an electrified barbed-wire fence. And while I am not actually suggesting quite so drastic a level of work or sacrifice for anybody else at this time, I do want to repeat that we are not going to be saved from concentration camps by those who plan to do the saving every Saturday morning before lunch, or by financial backing of the same order to the anti-Communist forces. And I also want to repeat, as we simply must convince more of our complacent friends, that the result of our failure in this fight most positively will be concentration camps, or worse, and soon.

Let me repeat just one thing that I said to you yesterday morning. There are in the satellite countries today thousands of men, just like you and me, who only ten years ago could regularly meet in such groups as I propose. Not only that, but they could go out openly, with and before larger groups, to try to spread the alarm and to stop the Communists from taking over their countries. These men now say to each other, but largely to themselves: "If I had only known. If I had only recognized and believed the danger, and the horror of Communist

rule, in time. There is nothing I would not have given, to save my freedom, my family, my country, if I had only recognized the urgency and the desperate need. Now it is all too late, and any sacrifice, even of life itself, would be entirely in vain."

We do not have to be too late, and we do not have to lose the fight. Communism has its weaknesses, and the Communist conspiracy has its vulnerable points. We have many layers of strength not yet rotted by all of the infiltration and political sabotage to which we have been subjected. Our danger is both immense and imminent; but it is not beyond the possibility of being overcome by the resistance that is still available. All we must find and build and use, to win, is sufficient understanding. Let's create that understanding and build that resistance, with everything mortal men can put into the effort -- while there still is time.

Then, while we are destroying and after we have destroyed the Communist tyranny, let's drive on towards our higher goals of more permanent accomplishment; towards an era of less government and more responsibility, in which we can create a better world.

POSTSCRIPT -- SEPTEMBER 1, 1959

For The First Printing

While this manuscript was being typed for the offset-printer's camera, the speed and momentum of the Communist advance increased by leaps and bounds.

A de facto recognition of the Communist government of East Germany, as on a par with the legitimate government of West Germany, became an accepted part of the Geneva Four-Ministers Conference -- and its only tangible result.

The perfidious "cultural exchange program" was raised to a new level of reach and effectiveness, as a means of Communist propaganda and subversion, by the much publicized official opening of the Soviet Fair in New York and of the American Fair in Moscow.

Vice President Nixon's tour of Russia marked a new high, up to that time, of prestige-building for the Communists by top officials of our government. His flippant and silly badinage with Khrushchev -- as if they were two football captains joshing each other about the prowess and prospects of their respective teams -- added all that the Soviets could have desired to the despair of their hundreds of millions of suffering slaves. But to make sure that there could be no possible misunderstanding, as to how friendly were the terms on which our government and their government played football with the fate of the Communist-subjugated peoples, Mr. Nixon added such touches as a social week-end visit by his

wife and himself to "one of the estates" of Nikita Khrushchev; and Mrs. Nixon posed with the wives of three of the top Communist tyrants for a picture that then went all over the world as a cover of Life magazine.

But worse was still to come. It has been announced, and is now expected, that Nikita Khrushchev will soon be received as an honored visitor to our country and cordially entertained as the personal guest of our President. It is almost certain that more people have been murdered in cold blood by the direct authority and orders of Nikita Khrushchev than of any other man who ever lived. Yet the Communist influences within our government are now so great, and the piecemeal surrender of our position, our prestige, our principles, and eventually of our sovereignty itself, now proceeds at such a pace, that even the Klieg-lighted fraternizing of the President of the United States with the Butcher of Budapest will not be too brazen a step to flaunt in the faces of the American people.

Even these things, however, will soon become half-forgotten trivia in the record of the Communist advance. They are mentioned here primarily for the very purpose of showing the impossibility of keeping the record up to date. We cannot base the appeal that follows on anything more specific than a general picture of the methods, progress, and menace of the Communist tyranny -- or on anything less than a broad understanding of the underlying weaknesses in our contemporary society, which make the advance of that tyranny so certain and now so rapid.

We are not hereby urging to join The John Birch Society those who think the war would be won if we could prevent Khrushchev's visit; or if we could keep the Communists from stirring up even more

troubles in Africa; or if we could bolster up Adenauer and de Gaulle sufficiently to withstand the Communist pressures closing in on Western Europe; or if we could stop our government from helping to destroy the only three or four firmly anti-Communist governments remaining in all of Latin America; or if we could keep an increasing number of pro-Communists from being elected to our own House and Senate. Nor do we invite those who think that dumping the United Nations in the East River would save our country from becoming a part of a one-world Communist tyranny. Although each of these things, of course, would help.

But we are asking those who see the problem more as a whole, and from a longer perspective, to come in with us and begin adding their dedication to our own. During the early months of the existence of The John Birch Society we held back from any actions or measures that would have encouraged too fast growth, until we could establish a solid nucleus -- both ideologically and organization-wise -- from which such growth would spread. We have now laid the groundwork for the rapid expansion, in both numbers and our effectiveness, which we planned and expected to start this fall. Since the letter of July 4 that opens this manuscript was written, we have been moving steadily into a stronger position to seek, to assimilate, and to utilize gratefully and effectively, the support which we have anticipated would be available to us beginning in September. Now, for the first time, we are actively seeking that support, as fast as it can be found -- as fast as patriotic men and women, of good will, good conscience, and religious ideals can be brought into our Society.

We now have full-time staff Coordinators at work, helping to establish chapters and to supervise those

already established, in Massachusetts, Florida, Michigan, Illinois, Tennessee, and Texas. We shall be adding Coordinators in other areas soon. We have many sets of tape recordings of this presentation available, and now being played back frequently, to small groups which are gathered together to hear the whole story of The John Birch Society. Within a few weeks we shall also have the same presentation on film, with enough prints for all of our Coordinators to use. And, without letting down our standards in the least, we shall soon be starting more extensive efforts to find men and women who are both qualified and willing to become active and faithful Chapter Leaders, as well as working members, of local chapters of our Society.

But our more immediate and direct goal, in the distribution of this Blue Book, is to reach whatever good patriots we can, who might be interested in becoming members of the Home Chapter of The John Birch Society at once. If you later take the lead and establish a local chapter in your community, or if you merely join such a group with somebody else as Chapter Leader, of course your membership can easily be transferred. In the meantime, however, and without waiting for that development, you can become more thoroughly familiar with all that we are doing, trying to do, and hope to do in the future; you can add the weight of your name and dues and effort to the total effectiveness of the Society; and you can have the satisfaction of knowing that you are a part of that gathering, growing, dedicated, solid force which is determined to save for our children and their children some semblance of the glorious country and humane civilization which we ourselves inherited.

We invite you to tear out the application blank which will be the last sheet in this volume, sign it

with your name and address, and send it with the appropriate dues to The John Birch Society, Belmont 78, Massachusetts. Once you have done so and your own application has been accepted, we urge you to order more copies of this Blue Book, put them into the hands of your most patriotic friends, and ask those friends also to apply for membership.

In the course of testimony before a Congressional Committee by Dr. Frederick Schwarz, in which he was explaining the power and effectiveness of the world-wide Communist conspiracy which grew out of the coordinated and disciplined control of its millions of members, Dr. Schwarz was asked if there was any cohesive force in existence and at work in opposition to the aims of the Communists. His unhesitating answer was: "Unfortunately, no." He was quite right. He is still right. And we are never going to turn back the advancing tide of Communist enslavement, until it engulfs ourselves and all of the world, unless there is such a unified and cohesive opposition. We hope you will help us to build one -- fast -- that is too powerful and too tightly knit to be overthrown by the storm that is now so close upon us.

If just one-fifth of the people who bitterly oppose Communism will actively oppose it, in such a co-ordinated manner and under such unified direction that their efforts have full cumulative weight, the Communists will not have even a chance of success. Putting forth such effort in such fashion is a far easier, braver, and wiser course than becoming slaves of a Communist police state. And there is no other choice.

POSTSCRIPT -- DECEMBER 9, 1959

For The Second Printing

During the four years that AMERICAN OPINION has been published there has never appeared a picture of, nor even a personal word about, myself. Nor has there been any such word in any material issued by or for The John Birch Society. This is simply because of my distaste for anything in the nature of personal publicity.

The pressure from Chapter Leaders, members, and prospective members of the Society, however, has increased to the point of convincing me that the demand for more information about the Founder of the Society is well justified, and even that it is unfair for me not to give at least a skeletonized biography to those who are willing to follow my leadership. Still reluctantly, therefore, but because these considerations must prevail, I am inserting in this second printing of the Blue Book a copy of the page of biographical notes which my secretary is currently sending to program chairmen of organizations before which I am able to appear as a speaker.

Even though this sketch is, at some points, slightly on the flippant side -- to avoid any appearance of pomposity or stuffed-shirtism, which I detest -- it is my hope that these few paragraphs will seem adequate in substance and sufficiently dignified in treatment to serve entirely satisfactorily the purpose for which they are offered.

ROBERT WELCH

Born December 1, 1899, on a farm in Chowan County, North Carolina. Ancestry, full of farmers and Baptist preachers, traceable to one Miles Welch who came to this country from Wales in 1720. Educated at University of North Carolina (four years), United States Naval Academy (two years), Harvard Law School (two years), and school of hard knocks (about forty years). Came to Boston from North Carolina in 1919. Has lived in Belmont for the past twenty years. Has one wife, two sons, a Golden Retriever dog, and fourteen golf clubs -- none of which he understands, but all of which he loves.

Has spent a great part of his life getting from where he was to where he wasn't, for reasons which seemed worthwhile at the time. This includes two trips to England specifically to study the effects of the Socialist government; one trip around the world; and fairly extensive additional traveling in North America, South America, Europe, and Asia.

Author of *THE ROAD TO SALESMANSHIP*, published in 1941 by the Ronald Press Company; of *MAY GOD FORGIVE US*, published in 1952 by Henry Regnery Company; and of *THE LIFE OF JOHN BIRCH*, published in 1954 by Henry Regnery Company. Is editor and publisher of *AMERICAN OPINION*, a monthly magazine which reviews current events and appraises contemporary leaders on the world-wide stage. Has done much public speaking, and will climb on a soapbox to argue against the evils of socialism whenever anybody will listen.

Has been in the candy manufacturing business all of his adult life. Was for many years Vice President, in charge of sales and advertising, of James O. Welch Company, with factories in Cambridge, Massachusetts,

Mansfield, Massachusetts, and Los Angeles, California; and of its subsidiary sales corporations in Atlanta, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Seattle. Is a director of one bank, and has served as a director of several other business corporations.

Was a member of the board of directors of the National Association of Manufacturers for seven years. Also served three years as a Regional Vice President of NAM, and two years as chairman of its Educational Advisory Committee. Has been active in many other business associations and committees, and in many community and educational activities -- including service on the Belmont School Committee.

As of January 1, 1957, Mr. Welch gave up most of his business responsibilities -- and most of his income -- in order to devote practically all of his time and energy to the anti-Communist cause. Believes that the only thing the Communists now fear is having the truth become widely known, to the American people, about the methods and the progress of the whole international Communist conspiracy. For his readers or his listeners, Mr. Welch simply puts together clear but separate facts about the Communist advance, so that their significance becomes more apparent. Through this method he is trying to wake up as many of his fellow citizens as he can, to the horror and the imminence of the dangers which they face.

THE COUNCIL
of
THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

Each of the men listed below, who make up our COUNCIL, came into the Society solely as an individual, representing in no way any other group or organization. But simply for identification, we have given against each name the briefest line or two concerning other connections, or past accomplishments.

Dr. N. E. Adamson, Jr. A Boston surgeon. Assistant Medical Director of New England Mutual Life Insurance Company. Youngest member of the COUNCIL.

Mr. Thomas J. Anderson. Editor and Publisher of FARM AND RANCH, farm paper with 1,300,000 circulation.

Hon. T. Coleman Andrews. Former Commissioner of Internal Revenue of the United States. Now Chairman of the Board of two large (and affiliated) insurance companies.

Hon. Spruille Braden. Former Ambassador to several countries, former Assistant Secretary of State. A top authority on Latin American affairs.

Col. Laurence E. Bunker. Former Personal Aide to General Douglas MacArthur for 6½ years—during the Japanese occupation, the Korean War, and MacArthur's early months in this country after his return.

Mr. S. J. Conner. Chicago business man. President of the Conroth Company.

Mr. Ralph E. Davis. President of General Plant Protection Corporation and affiliated companies, Los Angeles.

Dr. S. M. Draskovich. Author of *Tito, Moscow's Trojan Horse*. Editor-in-chief of SRPSKA BORBA (*The Serbian Struggle*), a weekly newspaper, published in Chicago, with sizable circulation in thirty-six countries.

Mr. Wm. J. Grede. President of Grede Foundries, Inc., Milwaukee. Former President of the National Association of Manufacturers and former head of the International YMCA.

Mr. E. P. Hamilton. President, Hamilton Manufacturing Company, Two Rivers, Wisconsin. Former President, Wisconsin Manufacturers Association. Active on many important boards, and an outstanding citizen of his state.

Mr. A. G. Heinsohn, Jr. President, Cherokee Mills, Sevierville, Tennessee. Author of *One Man's Fight For Freedom*. A very successful manufacturer and a very dedicated patriot.

Dr. Granville F. Knight. An outstanding physician and public-spirited citizen of Santa Barbara, California. Author of many scientific papers, especially on the misuse of chemicals and adulterants in foods.

Mr. Fred C. Koch. President, Rock Island Oil and Refining Company, Wichita, Kansas. Strong supporter of many patriotic movements, and especially of right-to-work legislation.

Mr. Alfred Kohlberg. Was a charter member of our COUNCIL. Now deceased.

Dean Clarence Manion. Former Dean of Notre Dame Law School. In 1953 was appointed, by President Eisenhower, chairman of a Special Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. He later resigned rather than stop crusading for the Bricker Amendment. Founded the Manion Forum, which now reaches a radio audience of many millions every week.

Mr. Frank E. Masland, Jr. President of C. H. Masland & Sons (carpet manufacturers), Carlisle, Pennsylvania. A leader in his community and state, who serves as chairman, vice-chairman, or active member of the boards of a great many educational, philanthropic, and industrial organizations. Also famous as an explorer of out-of-the-way places in the world.

Mr. N. Floyd McGowin. President, W. T. Smith Lumber Company, Chapman, Alabama. Active on many important boards of national organizations and enterprises.

Mr. W. B. McMillan. President of the Hussman Refrigerator Company, St. Louis, Missouri. An outstanding business leader. Was, next to your Founder, the first member of The John Birch Society.

Mr. Adolphe Menjou. Famous actor of screen, stage, and television. Also famous as an anti-Communist patriot.

Dr. Revilo P. Oliver. Professor of Classical Languages and Literatures at the University of Illinois. Recognized as one of the very top scholars in America in his field. Now becoming rapidly recognized, also, as one of the ablest speakers on the Americanist side.

Mr. Cola G. Parker. Former President of the Kimberly-Clark Company. Former President of the National Association of Manufacturers. At present, United States Employer Delegate—a stoutly patriotic and embattled delegate—to the International Labor Organization.

Hon. M. T. Phelps. Former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Arizona.

Mr. Louis Ruthenburg. Chairman of the Board of Servel, Inc., Evansville, Indiana. Long a leader in and fighter for conservative causes.

Mr. James Simpson, Jr. Was a charter member of our COUNCIL. Now deceased.

Mr. Robert W. Stoddard. President of Wyman-Gordon Company, Worcester, Massachusetts. On board of directors of several of New England's largest businesses, including First National Bank of Boston. Has just served two terms as President of Associated Industries of Massachusetts. Active on the boards of many educational and philanthropic institutions.

Lt. General Charles B. Stone, III, U.S.A.F. (Retired). Succeeded General Claire Chennault as Commander of our 14th Airforce, in China, near end of World War II, and is lifetime Honorary Chairman of the 14th Airforce Association.

Mr. Ernest G. Swigert. President of the Hyster Company, Portland, Oregon, with other factories in the Midwest, South America, and Amsterdam, Holland. Former President of the National Association of Manufacturers, and a most dedicated American patriot.

The basic function of the COUNCIL is threefold: (1) To show the stature and standing of the leadership of the Society; (2) to give your Founder the benefit of the COUNCIL's advice and guidance, both in procedural or organizational matters, and in substantive matters of policy; and (3) to select, with absolute and final authority, a Successor to myself as head of The John Birch Society, if and when an accident, "suicide," or anything sufficiently fatal is arranged for me by the Communists — or I simply die in bed of old age and a cantankerous disposition. And we believe that both the growth and the effectiveness of our Society will be greatly helped by the experience, ability, and resolute purpose of so strong a governing body.

RW

Application For Membership

, 19

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY
Belmont 78, Massachusetts

Gentlemen:

This is my application for membership in the _____ Chapter of THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY, for one year from this date, and for automatic renewal each year thereafter, unless I resign in writing. I understand the dues schedule printed on the back of this sheet, as applicable to myself.

If my application is accepted, I agree that my membership may be revoked at anytime, by a duly appointed officer of the Society, without the reason being stated, on refund of the pro rata part of my dues paid in advance.

Sincerely,

(Name) _____

(Address) _____

Date _____

Application Approved
By _____

Dues Received _____

Title _____

DUES SCHEDULE

Life membership in the Home Chapter, (which automatically covers membership in any local chapter), for men or women \$1,000.00
(This may be paid in two consecutive annual installments of \$500.00 each.)

Regular annual membership in the Home Chapter For men \$24.00
 For women 12.00

Membership in a local chapter, minimum per year: For men \$24.00
 For women 12.00

(This may be paid as \$2.00 per month for men, and \$1.00 per month for women, to the local Chapter Leader.)

If any member wishes to pay larger dues, to support the Society's work (or to make contributions for that purpose), such dues or contributions may also be split into monthly installments if desired.

(Applications for membership in local chapters should be approved by the Chapter Leader. Applications for membership in the Home Chapter will be approved by the home office.)

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FILE NO. 100-9548-1A2

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RE THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

A Democracy And A Republic

advanced. With the tyranny of a completely lawless dictatorship as the ultimate stage and goal.

Of course none of this just happened. The tremendous forces at work, deliberately to speed up this degeneration of our republic, can best be typified by the large foundations. They have for decades been working under the secret but visible directive: So to change the economic and political structure of the United States that it can be comfortably merged with Soviet Russia. They have set the pace for the whole demagogic tribe that—many of them unaware of where they were heading or who was pushing them—has sought not only to make us a *democracy* but to convince the American people that we are supposed to be a democracy. For acceptance of that change, from a republic, is an all-inclusive step of tremendous importance on the road to the rule of a Communist tyrant, with neither laws nor precedents nor traditions to restrict his cruel power. The glorification of "majority rule" as the unchecked and immediate arbiter of the fate of minorities and majorities alike is the great and dangerous criminal fraud, which our forefathers so much feared, and tried as well as they knew how to prevent.

In summary, democracy is government by majority vote, whether direct in a pure democracy or by one step removed in a representative democracy. It provides no protection of the rights of minorities nor even of the best interests of the majorities themselves, against the sudden whims of the electorate or the results of the voters' gullibility. And those who, through ignorance or greed or indifference, will allow their glorious republic to be converted into so despicable a pretense of civilized government, deserve the ultimate enslavement into which that transition is designed to lead them. But the framework of what was given us by our ancestors is not yet destroyed. The destruction now going on can be stopped and inner damages can—with enough determination—still be repaired. Ours is a republic, not a democracy. Let's keep it that way.

Additional reprints of this article, delivered:

1 to 99 copies, 20 for \$1.00; 100 to 999 copies, 4¢ each; 1,000 or more, 3¢ each.
Address: AMERICAN OPINION, Belmont 78, Massachusetts.

On The Differences Between

A DEMOCRACY AND A REPUBLIC

Historically both words, *democracy* and *republic*, have been used with a wide variety of meanings and shades of meanings. Nor is there any denial that these shades overlap to some extent. But there is a tendency, permitted by even some of the best dictionaries, to regard *democracy* as the generic term, and a *republic* as merely one species of democracy. This is not supported by either etymology or history.

The word *democracy* comes from the Greek, and is concerned from the very beginning with the form of rule, or the source of governmental power and the method by which it is exercised. It meant rule by the people instead of rule by an autocracy or oligarchy. And so rapidly and completely did demagogery cause this rule by the people to degenerate into mobocracy that by the time of Aristotle it was considered very unflattering to any government to speak of it as a *democracy*.

The word *republic* comes from the Latin, and designates only "the public affairs" or the "common weal," without regard to how those public affairs are conducted or the common well-being is achieved. None of the Greek city states, in which democracy originated, ever had a *republic*, or anything resembling one. But since then, and before the Communists deliberately prostituted so much of our language into deceptive reversals, the term has been applied, almost universally and with ready acceptance, to such widely different states as Rome in its earliest centuries, Venice, Poland in the 16th through the 18th centuries, the United Netherlands Confederation of the same period, the Swiss Republic, various French governments, and the United States of America. Some of these were monarchies (even at times absolute monarchies), some were oligarchies, and some were *representative democracies*, so far as the *form* of government is our concern. But what made these states *republics*, in the minds of statesmen and political scientists and historians and the informed public, was the fact that each of them (in theory, anyway) was ruled according to the well

established laws—whether set forth by statutes, by precedents, or by written constitutions—and not simply by the whim of the monarch, or of the oligarchy, or of a temporary majority of the voters. "The rule of laws, not men," is one of the soundest of all the copybook maxims. And it is the essence of the whole difference between a democracy and a republic. Democracy is the rule of men, not bound by laws—or tradition or precedent—whenever mob psychology can be built up by demagogues to support the demagogues' disdain for the restrictions of law. A republic is rule subject to laws—and tradition and precedent—which laws cannot be changed except by due and deliberate process according to their own provisions.

Except when utilized by very small units, such as a tiny Greek city-state or an American township or village, democracy has never worked satisfactorily as a form of government. Especially when the size of the unit becomes such that "pure democracy" is no longer practicable, and it is necessary for the voters to select representatives to make the actual decisions and do the governing for them, does the deterioration into a mobocracy always become rapid and disastrous. The whole life cycle of a "representative democracy," from early stability through mobocracy and murderous cruelty to counter-revolution and stability once again, was telescoped by the French Revolution into a period of a few short years. This was because of the excessive steam pressure of the forces at work. But the pattern was an exact one for the course of a "representative democracy," as a form of government for large units, nevertheless.

Although our republic was established before the French Revolution had supplied this horrible example, our founding fathers were well aware of the faults and dangers of a democracy. They wanted no part of one for our national government. In fact, while our constitution goes so far as to guarantee a republican form of government to each of the several states, it does not even mention a democracy or a democratic form of government once. And one of the very few times the Federalist Papers (which tell us most of what we know about the thinking that went into our constitution) even mention a democracy, is in Federalist Paper No. 10, where Madison does so in order to show us its disadvantages.

If Washington and Hamilton and Jefferson and Madison and all of the other great men of our constitutional convention had not believed that a constitutional republic was the best of all forms of government, they would have provided something else. For theirs was a clean slate on which to write. They did so believe, and both man's age-old experience with government and his most carefully reasoned theories support their choice.

But a republic, even if in the form of a monarchy or an oligarchy, does presuppose the ultimate responsibility of the governors to the governed. A king "by divine right" cannot head a republic, but only a king by—in theory, anyway—the consent of the governed. So that the governed do have the inherent right, and usually the opportunity, to make changes even in the basic laws through which the republic functions. And when the governmental form is the same as that of a "representative democracy," the danger of a breakdown of the legal guard rails of the republic is always present and usually becomes worse with time. So that the greatest fault of a republic is the likelihood of its deteriorating into a democracy. And of this, too, our forefathers were well aware. When Benjamin Franklin was asked, at the end of the Constitutional Convention, "What have you given us, Mr. Franklin?", his answer was: "A republic, Madam, if you can keep it!"

His fear was well founded. For today, because of the utterly unjustified and steadily increasing violation and disregard of our constitution itself, we have already gone far towards losing that protection of laws, against the schemes of demagogues and the whims of the electorate, which made us a republic instead of a democracy. The formerly slow erosion of our constitutional guarantee became a rapid rotting away under the Franklin Roosevelt Administration and those which have succeeded it. First, the Executive Department began to attack and circumvent the Constitution. Then the Legislative Department began supinely to surrender its rights and to fail in its duties under the Constitution. And then the Judicial Department began, in brazen and criminal violation of the oaths of office of individual justices, to change the Constitution by fiat of the Supreme Court, and of lesser courts. Until today the conversion of our republic into a democracy and the preparatory steps for making it a mobocracy are already far

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File No. 100Date Received 11-9-64

From [redacted]

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Description: 2 c.p.s. D
2 pgs micrograph
Sheet re speech of
Rev. Orion Hutchinson's
Box 2 Review

One sheet
Bureau
12/1/64
app

NOTES FROM REVEREND ORION HUTCHISON'S BOOK REVIEW

The report by Dr. Orion Hutchison was on the United States and the New Nations. He said that the "great new fact" was the appearance of new nations, all of which are backed by Communism. He asked the audience for characteristics of today's World and the new nations. These were: Unevenness of development; Smaller World; Dense world; Time of decision (which after much discussion on his part was reworded from "The Cold War" as given by a member of the class); Population explosion; Nationalistic; and eagerness.

Next, we were to give the characteristics of the orbital age (smaller world)-- one was the fact that we are dependent on other nations. After FDR sent Wendell Willkie on a trip around the world, Willkie reported "We live in one World".

We are in a growing age--population is growing. The New Nations are underdeveloped and growing most rapidly. In the proud age--there is a feeling of nationalism. There are groups within nations; e.g. Negro people. New nations want freedom. The Western World is in a period of decline. Great Britain has dropped in status, the United States has dropped in status--"This is not bad". The Christian West had a depression; WE led the World into two wars (This isn't history as I learned it) and we suffered an economic depression. So because of our "bad image" the new nations have not lined themselves with the west. Colonies are a mark of shame and a threat. (There was no mention of the colonization of imperial Russia--Poland, East Germany, Cuba, or Red China--Tibet, North Korea, North Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, etc.)

Strange things are happening in the revolutionary religious age. Decline of the West has brought about decline of Christian influence. One half of the World is under Communism and one half is under the free world. Thirty percent of the World is Christian. By the year 2000 A.D. Christianity will shrink to 20% of population. Christians will make more compromises and the churches will come closer together.

ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT:

"We do not have simply developed and underdeveloped Nations." The status symbol of a nation is a jet airliner, steel mills, and universities. These new nations are not lacking in natural resources, but in human relations. Illiteracy is great. The new nations want economic success now. But, they cannot get it, but by an austere program of self-deprivation.

FORMS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT:

Perversely, capitalism is thought to be the rich taking advantage of the poor. The face of this is oppressive. The Communists have kept this picture alive. Capitalism has been socially refined.

The mistake made about Communism is the saying that Socialism and Communism are the same. Karl Marx importance was the result of a reaction to the bad picture of Capitalism. The three basic ideas under Communism are:

- (1.) All private enterprise is evil.
- (2.) All resources belong to and must be administered by the State.
- (3.) All workers belong to the state.

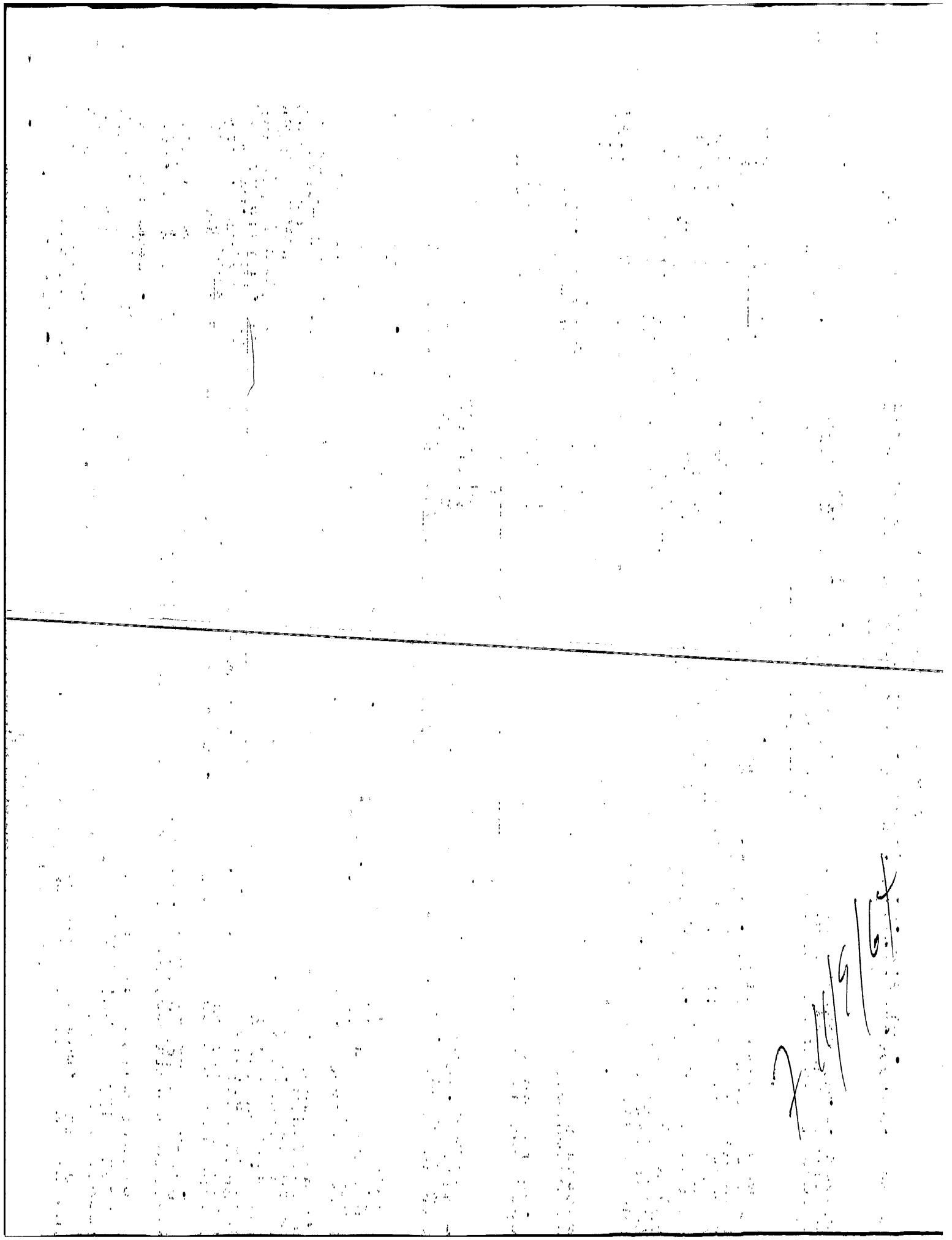
The genius of Communism is that it provides all people with money with which to develop the country without having to go outside for help. (The reviewer ignores the famines in Red Russia which resulted in the death by starvation of 25 million Ukrainians-- See House Un-American Activities Committee Reports "Crimes of Khrushchev", and the fact that Tsarist Russia was an EXPORTER of wheat while RED Russia cannot raise enough wheat to fulfill her minimal needs. Bresnev and Kosygin this week conceded that the 3% of the land still held privately produced more than 45% of the total production of foodstuffs in Russia.) The USSR will achieve Communism by 2000A.D. Capitalism and Communism are coming to a common ground. (The reviewer fails to note that Communism is ATHEISM and that there is common ground between atheism and Christianity). E.g. Post Office, school system, TVA in USA. Example of capitalism in Russia is the small private farm which works better than the collective farm.

SOCIAL ATTITUDES:

Family patterns are breaking up in these new nations because they are living in many centuries. (I would question reviewers sense of history as the family unit has been the only enduring unit). One revolution follows another (e.g. population, urbanization, and agriculture).

POVERTY:

Annual income per family in China \$25.00, India \$69.00, U.S. \$2,366.00. Food consumption per day per person in India is 1.2 lbs., U.S. 4.6 lbs.



page 2
NOTES ON BOOK REVIEW BY REV. ORION HUTCHISON OF VERA MICHELES DEAN'S BOOK
THE UNITED STATES AND THE NEW NATIONS

There is illiteracy and ignorance and failure of the colonial powers to provide education and doctors to the extent that TB, Cholera, small pox, and malnutrition are prevalent in the new nations.

The reviewers answer to these problems is through the United Nations. (Are you aware that Alger Hiss was convicted of perjury for denying Communist party membership?--And that he was the organizing secretary-general of the United Nations? Did you know that Alger Hiss had the final say for the placement of more than 1100 staff members, including many in key positions within the UN Secretariat? Through UNESCO our school teachers are being advised that children entering school are "often poisoned with Patriotism", and UNICEF, in 1962 sent 32 MM U.S. dollars to Castro's Cuba, while having our church youth solicit funds from door to door on Halloween under the pretext of aiding less fortunate children around the world.)

FOREIGN RELATIONSHIPS:

No nation can go its way alone so we have what we call alignment. Most of the new nations are non-aligned. Neither do they want Communism or capitalism. The fear of nuclear war on their land is present if they align. Non-alignment is a new word for neutrality; it is the progressive word. Aid used to be given to protect from Communism. Now it should be given just for humanitarianism.

Political Structures:

Rev. Hutchison feels that this could be the first topic. He says that there are two types of structures (however he seemed to lose his point for he then discussed all forms of governments as democracies.) Every nation wants democracy, and likes to think they have it. East Germany has a synthetic democracy also Czechoslovakia. (Interlude of thirty minutes of slides was shown here; first slide showed:

	AMERICA	USSR
1. God	Creator	Matter in motion
2. Man	A person	thing (matter)
3. Morality	Absolute object	relative
4. Conscience	Sense for right	expediency
5. State	Servant	master.

Reviewer stated that the Soviet people are not dissatisfied because they compare themselves with previous years and not with our standard of living. He stressed the hospitality of the Communists, greatly. If you are a tourist in Russia you probably won't have to pay for trolley rides, hospital bills or even merchandise. We were shown a slide on working mothers and he told us that non-working mothers were looked down upon. He compared the Communist Youth's Pioneers to our Boy Scouts. He says there is not much Communist indoctrination in this movement, that it comes later, in high school. Reviewer reiterates that people are very well satisfied with Communism. It is not easy to become a member of the Communist Party. Absolute commitment to the party is a prerequisite.

The Communists are appointed to a job--they have no freedom of choice. Control of vocations is achieved at the college entrance exam level. The doctor and the hall sweeper make the same amount of money--this is good from humanitarian viewpoint, reviewer believes.

Then we were shown slides on religions. The traditional religion was Russian Orthodox Christianity. He said there was no decline in worship in the Soviet Union (and then refuted his statement by saying that the young people do not worship). The young people are told that they must make a choice between being scientific and superstitious, and since superstition is frowned upon, the young people refuse to go to church. He said that all Russian statuary was "in motion" while American statuary was meditative.

William C. Sullivan, Assistant Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, said in a speech in Dallas, Texas October 19, 1961 that clergymen succumb to the appeal of Communism for the following reasons:

- 1. Confuse the values of Christianity with Communism
- 2. Confuse the teachings of Jesus Christ with Karl Marx
- 3. Tend to reject or drastically dilute the supernatural content of religion in favor of a naturalistic form of humanism which can make it hard to logically take a strong stand against Communism.

(Title) _____

(File No.) _____

(4) (3-4-65) 4 PAGE PRESS RELEASE DATED 9-11-60 FROM SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE RELATING TO CASTRO & CUBA. (2) COPY OF DAN SMOOT REPORT, DATED 3-23-64 CONCERNING "COMMUNIST SPIES IN THE STATE DEPT. (3) 8 PAGE PAMPHLET "COUNTERATTACK" DATED 8-28-64 "THE NEGRO REBELLION: AN APPRAISAL"

⑤ 9/25/65 Leaflet comparing objectives of National Council of Churches with objectives of CP

Disposition:

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SERIALIZED FILED *PR*
MAR 4 1965
FBI - CHARLOTTE *FBI*

100-9548-1A4

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Date Received 3-2-65

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Press release, Senate Inter-
im Select Committee
7-11-60

Pan Am int rep. 3/23/64

"Counterintelligence"

Scrapbook, 8-28-64

***C O P Y ***

FOR USE SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1960

FROM THE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE

"Cuba was handed to Castro and the Communists by a combination of Americans in the same way that China was handed to the Communists," Senators James O. Eastland (D.-Miss.) and Thomas J. Dodd (D.-Conn.) said today in releasing the testimony of two former United States Ambassadors to Cuba, who appeared before the Subcommittee on Internal Security. The Ambassadors who gave evidence on which the two Senators based their statement were Karl E.T. Smith, who represented the United States in Havana when Castro rose to power, and Arthur Gardner, who was Mr. Smith's immediate predecessor.

"The testimony of both these gentlemen demonstrates that American foreign policy is not made in the office of Secretary Herter on the fifth floor of the State Department," said Eastland and Dodd. "It is made on the fourth floor, by the unknown policy planners and memo makers who fill the Secretary's 'in' basket." According to Messrs. Smith and Gardner, Fidel Castro was the hero of the In-Basket Brigade. They worked with pro-Castro elements in the American press to make Castro appear as Robin Hood. They misguided American opinion in exactly the same way the In-Basket Brigade of 1945 misguided American opinion with the myth that the Chinese Communists were 'agrarian reformers'.

"The State Department has not been cleansed of those elements whose policies contributed so much to the loss of China to the free world. Secretary Herter, the man on the quarter deck, is not in charge of the ship."

The Senators drew particular attention to this statement of Ambassador Smith.

"We helped to overthrow the Batista dictatorship which was pro-American, only to install the Castro dictatorship, which is pro-Russian."

According to former Ambassador Smith, the agencies of the United States Government which "had a hand in bringing pressure to overthrow the Batista government" were "certain influential people, influential sources in the State Department, lower down echelons in the CIA" and "representatives of the majority of the United States Government agencies which have anything to do with the Embassy" in Cuba.

Both former Ambassadors indicated that William Wieland, who had charge of Central American Affairs as Director of the State Department's Caribbean Division, was a supporter of leftists elements in Latin America. Both indicated that Roy A. Rubottom suggested policies which aided Castro's rise to power, although Mr. Smith expressed the opinion that Mr. Rubottom had done so only after "terrific pressure". Mr. Rubottom was Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs during the ambassadorships of Messrs. Gardner and Smith. He was recently named Ambassador to the Argentine.

Mr. Smith made the extraordinary revelation that William Wieland sent him (Smith) to Herbert Matthews of the New York Times to get a briefing on Cuban affairs before Smith departed to take up his post in Havana. This occurred in 1957, after Matthews had written a series of articles which made "a Robin Hood" out of Fidel Castro.

"Then Mr. Smith reached Havana, he found out that "Castro was a revolutionary and a terrorist. From the time that he was a university student, he was a gun-toter," said the former Ambassador. "I was informed by a diplomat that he had killed two priests and one nun in Bogota during the uprising in 1948."

"Whether he started out as a Communist or not I doubt. But Fidel Castro did make a number of statements at Costa Rica and our [of Mexico] before he won the revolution which clearly showed his Marxist line of thinking."

Mr. Smith was asked by Counsel J.G. Sourwine: "Is there any doubt in your mind, that the Cuban government under Castro is a Communist government?"

He answered. "I would go further. I believe it is becoming a satellite, a communist satellite".

"The U.S. Government agencies and the U.S. press played a major role in bringing Castro to power," continued the Ambassador.

"Three front-page articles in the New York Times in early 1957, written by the editorialist Herbert Matthews, served to inflate Castro to world stature and world recognition. Until that time, Castro had been just another bandit in the Oriente Mountains of Cuba, with a handful of followers who had terrorized the campesinos, that is the peasants, throughout the countryside.

"Fidel Castro landed on the south coast of Oriente in December of 1956 from Mexico with an expeditionary force of 81 men. Intercepted by Cuban gunboats and patrol planes, Castro and a handful of stragglers managed to ensconce themselves in the rugged 8,000-foot Sierra Maestra Range.

"After the Matthews articles which followed an exclusive interview by the Times editorial writer in Castro's mountain hideout and which likened him to Abraham Lincoln, he was able to get followers and funds in Cuba and the United States. From that time on arms, money and soldiers of fortune abounded. Much of the American press began to picture Castro as a political Robin Hood.

"Also because Batista was the dictator who unlawfully seized power, American people assumed Castro must, on the other hand, represent liberty and law only. The revolution role which the new and veteran communists who boarded rebels blinded the people to the following political philosophy with which at that time he was already on record.

"His speeches as a student leader, his interviews as an exile while in Mexico, Costa Rica, and elsewhere clearly outlined a Marxist brand of political thought.

"The official U.S. attitude toward Castro could not help but be influenced by the pro-Castro press and radio, certain members of Congress picked up the torch for him.

There were a number of times, number of occasions when I was asked as the Ambassador if we would help the church in its efforts to establish a bridge between Castro and Batista, or if we, in any way, would support a national unity government. Such government would act as a provisional government in Cuba to maintain law and order while elections were being held.

"The United States would never agree to support or would never permit me to negotiate, because it would be considered as intervening in the internal affairs of Cuba.

"Batista made three big mistakes. The last big mistake he made was when he did not hold honest elections, which he had promised us on numerous occasions that he would name. Rivas Aguayo, the former Prime Minister of Cuba, was elected [he gave it November 11, 1958, to someone?] Batista. Is it true, that the U.S. Government instructed me through the State Department to say that we would not give aid and support to the Rivas Aguayo government whom installed because we did not feel that he could maintain effective control of the country. (more)

As far as the disintegration of the armed forces around the Batista government, the answer is that this negative action helped shatter the morale of the existing government. The responsibility for the deterioration in the morale of the army, navy, and Cuban Air Force dates back to many other forms of direct and indirect--I use the word "intervention" advisedly.

"Primarily I would say that when we refused to sell arms to the Cuban Government and also by what I termed intervening by inaction (which was persuading other friendly governments not to sell arms to Cuba) that these actions had a moral, psychological effect upon the Cuban armed forces which was demoralizing to the nth degree.

"The reverse, it built up the morale of the revolutionary forces. Obviously when we refused to sell arms to a friendly government, the existing government, the people of Cuba the armed forces knew that the United States no longer would support Batista's government.

"A decision such as prohibiting the sale of arms to a friendly nation can have devastating effects upon the government in power.

"We even did not fulfill our promise to deliver 17 training planes, which had been bought and paid for by the Batista government. In accordance with instructions from the State Department I informed Batista that delivery would be suspended, because we feared some harm might come to the 47 kidnaped(sic) Americans. The kidnaping by Raul Castro of 30 U.S. marines and sailors, 17 American citizens, and 3 Canadians occurred at this time.

"After the kidnaped(sic) Americans were returned we still refused to deliver these training planes because we feared that bombs could be put on the planes even though they were strictly for training purposes.

"I reiterate that decisions such as these may determine whether a government can remain in power.

"Although they could buy arms and ammunition from other sources, the psychological impact on the morale of the government was crippling. On the other hand, it gave a great uplift to the morale of the rebels.

Former Ambassador Gardner declared that a shipment of military equipment to Batista, arranged under the mutual aid pact, was "stopped" on the New York docks. He declared it was "common gossip" that "Rubottom was the only man who could have stopped it."

At the same time, according to Mr. Gardner, shipments of arms and ammunition to Castro from the United States "were being sent down surreptitiously almost every night. Every once in a while we were able to catch such a shipment and stop it. But we were not very active about it, and one factor which I think was one of the most serious was that the former President, named Prio, was living in Miami. I don't know whether you know this or not, but he was arrested, convicted, and paid a five-thousand dollar fine for gun-running. He was also indicted a second time. And yet no action was ever taken on it."

This is Mr. Smith's testimony: The Batista government complained continually about the airlifts and airdrops of bodies and arms from the United States. I always kept the State Department fully informed.

"But we seemed to have great trouble in enforcing our neutrality laws. I have sometimes wished that we had been half as diligent at that time in enforcing our neutrality laws as we have been lately."

Senator Eastland. Enforcing those laws now is an aid to the present government in Cuba, is it not?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir.

In answer to a question from Senator Dodd as to whether he had ever discussed Castro with Mr. Rubottom, Mr. Smith said that he had done so on numerous occasions.

"Mr. Smith. In all due justice to Roy Rubottom, I think that Roy Rubottom was under terrific pressure from segments of the press, from certain Members of Congress, from the avalanche of Castro sympathizers who daily descended upon the State Department, and Rubottom may have taken the line of least resistance.

Mr. Smith said: "The espionage system of the Castro people was so good that they knew nearly everything that was going on. They had their spies planted in the Cuban Embassy in Washington" before Castro came to power

"Many of these people, who later became members of the first Cabinet of Castro were asylums in the United States. They had close contacts with members of the State Department.

"To name a few: Urrutia, the first President of Cuba, Agramonte, the first Foreign Minister of Cuba, the first Prime Minister of Cuba, Miro Cardona. As a matter of fact, the first time that I met Cardona was after Batista had left the country. It was about the 4th of January of 1959 in the Presidential palace. He turned to me and said, 'I am a good friend of William Wiesland, a very good friend of William Wiesland.'

Mr. Smith asserted that before the Castro forces arrived in Havana, they had been demanding tribute throughout Cuba. "By the fall or the late summer of 1958, they decided to also demand tribute by American business and American property holders. Toward the closing days of the Batista regime, I believe some Americans did pay protection money. They were paying taxes to the Batista government and were also paying taxes to the Castro people."

Mr. Smith also strongly criticized the haste with which the Castro government was recognized by the United States. He declared that the State Department had ordered him to recognize the Castro government before Castro himself reached Havana in January 1959. In protesting against the making of policies by the people "on the fourth floor" Mr. Smith said:

"I believe that the policies are determined in the lower echelon, and by the time the higher echelon receives them, policies have already been made, and they have to live by them.

"I would like to recommend that some higher authority, such as the National Security Council of the United States, determine what our attitude toward another nation should be. Then all the actions of the State Department should be guided according to such policy as laid down by the National Security Council. I am sure the decision of the National Security Council would be arrived at from what is in the best interest of the United States.

"If they believed it was in the best interest of the United States to be friendly to another power and to give aid to that power, then our actions along that line should be guided accordingly."

Mr. Gardner declared that when he was Ambassador he endeavored to lay the facts about Castro and the Cuban situation before Secretary Herter, former Under Secretary Robert Murphy and Under Secretary Roy Henderson, as well as others in the State Department. He said he was "ignored, overlooked, snif circumvented."

Both former Ambassadors emphasized that before Batista's downfall Cuba was enjoying the greatest prosperity in its history. "Today", commented Senators Eastland and Dodd, in their joint statement, "the Cuban economy has been reduced to chaos, according to standard Communist procedures for instituting systematic disorder before imposing the final acts of Red despotism."

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COMMUNIST SPIES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT

On February 4, 1964, Yuri Nossenko (high-ranking Soviet secret police official attending the Geneva Disarmament Conference as an "adviser" to the Soviet delegation) disappeared. Six days later, it was revealed that he had defected and had been granted asylum in the United States.⁽¹⁾ He is virtually in the custody of the Central Intelligence Agency and of the State Department; but members of Congress are concerned about his personal safety, because he is said to have given information about Soviet espionage agents *inside the Central Intelligence Agency and the State Department*.⁽²⁾

Nossenko revealed that some employees of United States, French, and British diplomatic and intelligence agencies are members of five Soviet spy rings operating throughout the Western Hemisphere, and that certain American businessmen, newspapermen, scientists, and others are also undercover communist spies. Nossenko has named names and given details. One of the five communist spy rings allegedly operates in a very sensitive agency of the United States government.⁽²⁾

Investigating committees of Congress have not yet been permitted to question Nossenko; and the Johnson administration apparently has done nothing about the information offered.

The Soviets fear that Yuri Nossenko may give the West documents (such as cables from Moscow to Soviet delegates at the disarmament conference in Geneva) proving that Soviet disarmament proposals are designed merely to deceive gullible liberals and to provide propaganda for the Soviets.⁽³⁾

To date, the most important result of the Nossenko Case is that it helped uncover an affair which the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson administrations had concealed from Congress and the public for almost four years — an affair centering around a man who, for his own protection, uses the pseudonym "Lieutenant-Colonel Michael Goleniewski."

In September, 1958, Jacob D. Beam (U. S. Ambassador to communist Poland) began what State Department officials called "one of our more serious dialogues with a red Chinese delegation."⁽⁴⁾

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What the State Department was negotiating with Chinese communists about, why, and why communist Poland was chosen as the place, have not been disclosed.

The Soviets (intensely curious about the negotiations) got ten United States Marines and four male members of the U. S. Embassy in Poland involved with Polish women, so that they could be blackmailed for information. The wife of one American diplomat in Warsaw was seduced by an agent of the Soviet secret police.⁽⁵⁾

A very high official of the Soviet secret police (a Polish national, working for the Soviet KGB in Poland) called on an American CIA agent in Warsaw, saying he wanted to defect to the United States. The Pole did not give his true name, but called himself "Lieutenant-Colonel Michael Goleniewski." Goleniewski revealed that there were leaks of important security information to the Soviet secret police from the U. S. Embassy. The CIA agent told Goleniewski he should not defect, but should stay where he was and give espionage information to the Americans. Goleniewski agreed, but some time later told the CIA that his time was limited: information which he was giving to the Americans was leaking back to him in his capacity as a high official of the Soviet secret police. Obviously, some Americans employed in the U. S. Embassy and in the CIA were undercover communist agents.⁽⁵⁾

Goleniewski knew some of the communist agents in the American CIA and State Department, but not all. Apparently, he refused to identify any until he was permitted to defect and receive political asylum in the United States. Goleniewski's defection to the United States occurred sometime in 1960 (though no inkling of the fact was ever voluntarily given to the public, or to Congress).⁽⁵⁾

Soviet secret police operations, carefully compartmentalized, anticipate defections. A defector (no matter how highly placed) can never expose *all* spy rings and operations of the KGB. The Soviets feared, however, that Goleniewski's revelations might cause investigations which would expose American communists more important to the

Soviets than any whom Goleniewski himself knew about. Among these, was one American official in Poland, so important to the Soviets that they took a bold step to prevent his exposure.⁽⁵⁾

In 1960, the Soviets themselves arranged to expose Irwin Scarbeck, a minor U. S. diplomat, who had become involved with Urszula Maria Discher, a female communist agent. Obviously, the Soviets hoped that the "surfacing" (exposure) of Scarbeck would deceive Americans into thinking they had exposed the entire communist operation inside the United States Embassy. If, thinking this, Americans stopped their investigation, the Soviets' most important undercover agent in the Embassy would be saved. Within a few months, however, American investigators had identified the Soviets' most important communist plant in the Warsaw Embassy.⁽⁵⁾

Although this occurred in 1960, the American public does not yet know who the American Embassy official was; but some details about him have leaked out. His initials are "E. S." He was born May 8, 1904, in Grand Rapids, Michigan. He attended Marquette University and the University of Warsaw. In 1939, he began a lifelong career in the U. S. State Department, serving "with distinction" (according to the Department's evaluation) in many important posts, including positions in the American foreign service at Berlin, Moscow, Vladivostok, Istanbul, Ankara, Asuncion, Poznan, and Warsaw. The Eisenhower State Department assigned him to the U. S. Embassy at Warsaw on March 23, 1955. In rank, he was only two echelons below the Ambassador himself. This was the undercover communist agent whom the Soviets were trying to protect by the ruse of exposing Irwin Scarbeck, one of their American State Department agents of lesser importance. But, early in 1961, American investigators identified "E.S." He was recalled from Warsaw and questioned by the FBI and the CIA. Information was gathered from foreign cities where he had served "with distinction" as a foreign service officer of the U. S. State Department. The information, supplemented by lie-detector tests, constituted irrefutable evidence that "E.S." was indeed an undercover communist agent.⁽⁵⁾

In 1961, during the early months of the Kennedy administration, investigators submitted their evidence to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. High officialdom in Washington ruled that there would be no prosecution against "E.S." and ordered that the case never be mentioned to anyone, not even to members of Congress. "E.S." was permitted to resign quietly from the State Department, pick up his passport, and depart for Europe, leaving his wife in the United States. His blonde mistress (also an employee of the State Department who had been working with "E.S." in the U. S. Embassy at Warsaw) had been recalled to Washington for questioning. When "E.S." left the United States, his mistress obtained a passport and departed, for permanent residence in Europe as an American employed there.⁽⁵⁾

Shortly after the defector Goleniewski was brought to the United States, he was taken to a room for his first secret conference with CIA agents. When he walked into the room, he recognized an undercover communist in the group of American investigators who were to query him about communist spies inside the American government. Scared, Goleniewski feigned illness and departed. Later, he reported the fact to a CIA agent whom he trusted. The undercover communist whom he had seen among the CIA agents disappeared. Goleniewski never saw him again, and does not know his real name.⁽⁶⁾

The Kennedy administration managed to conceal all information about Goleniewski and the "E.S." affair. Whereas Goleniewski's defection in 1960 had been totally concealed from the public, Yuri Nossenko's defection in 1964 was conspicuous. Probing into the Nossenko matter for more information, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee heard about the older Goleniewski case.

Somehow, Guy Richards, reporter for *The New York Journal-American*, learned a little of what was happening. In a series of articles, published in early March, 1964, Mr. Richards revealed to the public, for the first time, the broad outlines of the Goleniewski case. In a follow-up, summa-

rizing column, published March 11, 1964, Mr. Richards said:

"The hope of keeping buried forever the story of the high-level American turncoat and his American mistress, who worked in the Warsaw embassy, is one of the prime motives behind the almost desperate attempts of the State Department and Central Intelligence Agency to keep Goleniewski from testifying before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

"Other reasons behind these attempts are fear of his disclosure of 19 Americans working for the KGB (Soviet Secret Police), 12 in the State Department, four in the CIA and three in the U. S. scientific laboratories."

Mr. Richards has not identified the 19 Americans whom Goleniewski has thus far named as undercover communist spies in government jobs; but, on March 5, 1964, *Vaba Eesti Sona* ("Free Estonian Word"), an Estonian-language newspaper published at Estonia House, 243 East 34th Street, New York, New York, named two of them. I will not repeat the names because I have no corroborating evidence. One of the two had an important ambassadorial post under President Kennedy. The other was an Assistant Secretary of State, whom President Johnson has praised highly, implying that he may also be appointed an ambassador.

It has been obvious for years that communists, hidden in key government jobs, have been directing American foreign policy. Look at the known record of communists in government. Examine also the consequences of American foreign policy.

All over the world, American foreign policy has helped communists capture nations. For example: Algeria, Cambodia, China, Cuba, Ghana, Indonesia, Laos, North Vietnam, Tibet, Zanzibar!⁽⁶⁾ Not to mention a complete tier of nations in Europe, from the Baltic to the Adriatic, which American policy helped communists conquer and enslave following World War II! And not to mention many other nations, like Pakistan, whose governments, once strongly pro-American and anti-communist, have been driven, by American foreign policy, into the arms of communists

and into hatred of America! On the other hand, I defy anyone to name one nation which American foreign policy has wrenched from communist control or led into stronger friendship for America—although our policy has been “justified” with arguments that it would save the world from communism, and has cost American taxpayers so many billions of dollars that our national government is on the verge of bankruptcy.

Record of Communists in Government

On November 27, 1945, the FBI sent to Harry S Truman a report revealing that Elizabeth Bentley (a Soviet spy for 11 years) had voluntarily given details about Soviet espionage rings operating inside sensitive agencies of the U. S. government. Among the undercover communist spies named by Bentley were:

Harry Dexter White — Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; Harold Glasser, Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, and William Taylor — Treasury Department; Lauchlin Currie — Administrative Assistant to the President of the United States; Robert Talbot Miller III — State Department; A. George Silverman — War Department; U. S. Army Air Force Major William L. Ullman — stationed at the Pentagon; Maurice Halperin, Julius J. Joseph, Major Duncan Lee, Helen Tenney, and Donald Wheeler — Office of Strategic Services; Edward Fitzgerald, Henry Magdoff, Victor Perlo, and William Remington — War Production Board; Willard Park and Bernard Redmont — Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs; Michael Greenberg — Foreign Economic Administration; Sol Leshinsky and George Perazich — United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration; Charles Kramer — investigator for the Kilgore Committee of the U. S. Senate.⁽⁷⁾

The information supplied by Elizabeth Bentley was supplemented and corroborated by Whittaker Chambers and others. A dramatic result was the Hiss case. Alger Hiss eventually went to prison (1950) for committing perjury by denying, under

oath, that he had ever been a communist or Soviet espionage agent.

These developments prepared the way for the “McCarthy era.” In February, 1950, the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (Republican, Wisconsin) made his first public speech about communists in government, especially in the State Department. The “McCarthy era” began on that day and lasted, roughly, until November, 1954, when the United States Senate passed a resolution condemning Senator McCarthy. Senator McCarthy died in the spring of 1957.

McCarthy and his staff did a considerable amount of original investigation concerning communist infiltration into government; but McCarthy’s essential role was the publicizing of cases which agencies of government knew about but would not act upon.

The most important *investigation* of communism in government was conducted by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. In 1951 and 1952, this Subcommittee (under the chairmanship of Senator Pat McCarran, Nevada Democrat) investigated the Institute of Pacific Relations — revealing that the tax-exempt IPR was a transmission belt for Soviet propaganda in the United States; that many of its members and associates were involved in Soviet espionage; and that communists who controlled the IPR had had a profound, if not controlling, influence on American policy in the Far East. The IPR supported propaganda in the American press, and decisions by our government, which discredited and crippled our ally, Chiang Kai-shek, and helped communists conquer China.⁽⁸⁾

In 1953, Senator William E. Jenner (Republican, Indiana) succeeded Senator McCarran as chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and initiated an investigation concerning “Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments.” On July 30, 1953, Senator Jenner filed an interim report, from which the following is extracted:

"The Soviet international organization has carried on a successful and important penetration of the United States Government and this penetration has not been fully exposed

"Members of this conspiracy helped to get each other into Government, helped each other to rise in Government and protected each other from exposure

"Powerful groups and individuals within the executive branch were at work obstructing and weakening the effort to eliminate Soviet agents from positions in Government.

"Members of this conspiracy repeatedly swore to oaths denying Communist Party membership when seeking appointments, transfers, and promotions and these falsifications have, in virtually every case, gone unpunished"

The Jenner committee revealed that two Soviet espionage rings inside our government had been exposed, and that identified members of the rings had been removed from office (despite efforts of higher governmental officials to protect them); but policies and programs formulated by identified communists remained in effect after the communists were removed from government jobs. Why? The Jenner committee revealed that two Soviet espionage rings, known to be operating in Washington, had never been exposed.⁽⁷⁾

The two communist spy rings inside our government have not yet been exposed; and, since the Senate Subcommittee report of July, 1953, there have been few significant removals of communists or pro-communists from government service. There are, however, indications that notorious individuals, forced out during the "McCarthy era," are now coming back. Space limitations permit only a few examples. On June 26, 1961, United States Representative Gordon Scherer (Republican, Ohio), during a speech to the House said:

"The Organization of American States, 60 percent of the cost of which is borne by the United States, is supposed to be one of the great bulwarks against Communist penetration of the Western Hemisphere.

"Early this month Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer

was selected to inaugurate a professorship program under which American professors will lecture in Latin America and Latin American professors will come here for the same purpose

"Dr. Oppenheimer went to Mexico the first week in June for about 10 days and will leave shortly for Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, spending a week or so lecturing in each country.

"Now Dr. Oppenheimer is the same man whose security clearance, after extensive hearings and reviews, was suspended on December 23, 1953.

"On June 29, 1954, members of the Atomic Energy Commission voted to deny him access to restricted material. The AEC's Personnel Security Board . . . established that a number of Communist Party officials between 1942 and 1945 had made statements to the effect that J. Robert Oppenheimer was a member of the Communist Party but that because of his position he could not be active in the party, and that his name should be removed from the Communist Party's mailing list.

"The Board also established that Oppenheimer had made periodic contributions to the Communist Party of between \$500 and \$1,000 each year for 4 years ending in April 1942

"Oppenheimer himself, under oath . . . admitted that he had lied to security officers"⁽⁸⁾

On April 3, 1963, the Atomic Energy Commission announced that, with the express approval of President Kennedy, Oppenheimer would be awarded the 1963 Enrico Fermi Award (a high honor which included a gift of \$50,000, not subject to taxes).⁽¹⁰⁾ On November 21, 1963, the White House announced that President Kennedy would personally make the award to Oppenheimer (on December 2).⁽¹¹⁾ On December 2, President Johnson made the formal presentation, uttering words of praise for Oppenheimer.⁽¹²⁾ This was the same Oppenheimer who, in 1954, according to an official finding of the Atomic Energy Commission, was "not entitled to the continued confidence of the Government," because of "fundamental defects in his character," and because his "associations with persons known by him to be communists" had lasted "too long to be justified as merely the intermittent and accidental revival of earlier friendships."⁽¹³⁾ Between 1954 and 1963, Oppen-

heimer did nothing to justify an award, or restoration of confidence in him.

From 1939 to 1945, Lauchlin B. Currie (a naturalized U. S. citizen, born in Nova Scotia) was Administrative Assistant to President Roosevelt. He was also a member of a Soviet espionage ring. In 1950 (at the beginning of the "McCarthy era") Currie went to Colombia. He married a Colombian and became a citizen of Colombia, forfeiting his American citizenship. On August 26, 1961, Richard Starnes, syndicated columnist, revealed that Lauchlin Currie "is in the front ranks of planners in Colombia whose task it will be to spend American money allocated under the newborn Alliance for Progress."

Currie could never have got this job of spending American tax money in Colombia without the help (or, at least, approval) of old friends still in the U. S. State Department. Congress, and the public, ought to know who those old friends are.

The recent Otepka case has unearthed disturbing information about conditions in the State Department. In March, 1963, Otto F. Otepka (Chief of the Evaluation Division of the Security Office of the State Department), in response to a subpoena, testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee—which is responsible for determining whether security laws enacted by Congress are being properly enforced. Otepka revealed that, of 168 State Department employees appointed since Dean Rusk became Secretary of State, 150 were not given security checks required by law. Instead of complying with the law of Congress, Dean Rusk hired the 150 by issuing "waivers" to ignore the law. Rusk fired Otepka for giving this information to the Internal Security Subcommittee.⁽¹⁴⁾

Otepka had done nothing illegal or unethical; but State Department officers (in order to "make a case" that would give Rusk grounds for firing Otepka) used tactics which would send a police officer to jail for entrapment and invasion of privacy. On July 9, 1963, John F. Reilly (Deputy

Assistant Secretary of State for Security) and Elmer Dewey Hill (one of Reilly's division chiefs) lied under oath when questioned by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee about their handling of the "Otepka investigation." On November 8, 1963, the Subcommittee revealed that Reilly and Hill, subpoenaed for additional testimony, admitted (again under oath) the falsity of testimony which they had given on July 9.⁽¹⁵⁾ The State Department put Reilly and Hill on "administrative leave."⁽¹⁶⁾ On November 18, both men were permitted to resign.⁽¹⁶⁾ Obviously, they are not to be prosecuted for perjury.

Senate Subcommittee probing, in connection with the Otepka affair, disclosed information even more disquieting than any revealed by Otepka himself. About the first of February, 1964, the Subcommittee discovered a memorandum which had been submitted on June 27, 1956, by Scott McLeod (then Administrator of the State Department's Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs—now deceased). The old McLeod memorandum says:

"On the department rolls are some 800 individuals concerning whom the office of security has information which raises . . . questions as to possible past communist activity or associations, false statements, immoral conduct, homosexuality, intoxication, mental defects, etc. All have been cleared as qualified for access to classified information.

"Of the 800-odd listed, there are approximately 205 on whom the questions are, in my opinion, serious in relation to the broad security responsibilities of the department. Sixty per cent are incumbents in high level assignments in the department or in the field.

"About one half are assigned to what can be categorized as critical intelligence slots in the department or to top-level boards and committees.

"The situation described is obviously serious and deserves urgent attention."⁽¹⁷⁾

Information which McLeod submitted with the list of 800 names indicates that 648 of the named State Department employees had been involved in communist activities; 94 were homosexuals; others were drunks. Three of the Department employees named were suspected of being foreign spies.⁽¹⁷⁾

There is no indication that the State Department ever did anything about the McLeod information. Presumably the 800 are still there, helping make policies for our nation.

What To Do

On November 27, 1963, United States Representative John H. Ashbrook (Republican, Ohio), introduced House Joint Resolution 812 (H J Res 812) calling for an investigation of the State Department. A similar resolution, introduced in January, 1962, by Representative Richard L. Roudebush (Republican, Indiana) died with adjournment of the 87th Congress.

The public must not let the current Ashbrook resolution die. This year, voters should let all candidates for Congress know that they will lose votes if they do not stand forthrightly for serious, relentless, thoroughgoing investigation of the State Department.

If we do get such an investigation, however, we should not be content with removal from office of persons who could be proven in a court of law to be connected with the communist conspiracy. The most important communists in government are too careful to do anything that could be cited as legal proof of their sympathies. We should demand removal from public office of every official or employee who took any part whatever in formulating decisions which have proved to be harmful to American interests, helpful to communism — whether or not specific communist activities by those individuals can be shown.

Who in government service helped plant and spread the false propaganda that the Diem regime in South Vietnam was a murderous dictatorship, thus preparing the American public to accept complacently the assassination of the Diems? Who in government service had some part, directly or indirectly, in the Diem assassination? Whoever they were, they should be revealed and fired.

Someone was responsible in 1962 for threatening to stop American foreign aid to the anti-communist government of President Alessandri of Chile, thus virtually forcing that government to embrace communist elements in Chilean politics.⁽¹⁸⁾ The result is that, on March 15, 1964, communists won an impressive victory in a key Chilean election — foreshadowing communist victory in the next presidential election there.⁽¹⁹⁾ Whoever had any part in American decisions and pronouncements that led to such a result should be revealed and fired.

Whoever in the State Department, CIA, or other governmental agency supported policy decisions which helped Castro capture Cuba; and whoever participated in decisions which caused the Bay of Pigs tragedy should be exposed and fired.

After spending hundreds of millions of tax dollars to "save Laos from communism," the United States government in 1962 forced the government of Laos to accept a coalition with communists. The result has been virtual communist conquest of the nation. Whoever participated in such policy decisions should be fired.

The dictator of Ghana is a self-admitted communist. His hatred of America and his support of communist-bloc nations have always been conspicuous. In February, 1964, his government staged an anti-American riot by students who desecrated the American flag. Yet, we continue to give Ghana 159 million dollars a year in aid. Every employee or official of the U. S. Government who has participated in decisions to give aid to the communist dictator of Ghana should be exposed and fired.

Whoever participated in the 1962 decision to grant Lee Harvey Oswald a passport and advance him tax money for return to the United States after he had declared his allegiance to the Soviet Union and renounced his native America; and whoever participated in the 1963 decision to issue Oswald a new passport for another trip to the Soviet Union should be fired.

In short, we must have, not just a whitewash, but a housecleaning of the State Department.

FOOTNOTES

(1) *The New York Times*, February 22, 1964, pp. 1, 4

(2) "The Allen-Scott Report," by Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott, *The San Diego Union*, circa March 11, 1964

(3) "Washington Whispers," *U. S. News & World Report*, March 2, 1964, p. 22

(4) AP dispatch from Washington, *The Dallas Morning News*, September 7, 1958, Section 1, p. 1

(5) "The Spy We Set Free," by Guy Richards, *The New York Journal-American*, March 11, 1964

(6) For details, see the following *Dan Smoot Reports*: "Cuba," May 5, 1961; "Laos, Part I and Part II," April 9 and 16, 1962; "Berlin And Cuba," September 17, 1962; "War And Politics," October 29, 1962; "It Helps To Be A Communist," November 12, 1962; "Free China!", January 14, 1963; "How To Lose Friends," February 11, 1963; "United Nations," April 1, 1963; "United Nations In Africa," April 15, 1963; "Truth Will Out," June 10, 1963; "The Test Ban Treaty," August 5, 1963; "The U. S. Government Protested," February 17, 1964.

(7) *Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments*, hearings before the U. S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, 1953-55, 30 parts, 2860 pp.

(8) *Institute of Pacific Relations*, hearings before the U. S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, 1951-52, 15 parts, 5964 pp.;

(9) *Congressional Record*, June 26, 1961, pp. 10413-4 (daily), p. 11218 (bound)

(10) *The New York Times*, April 4, 1963, pp. 1, 5

(11) *The New York Times*, November 22, 1963, pp. 1, 23

(12) *Life*, December 13, 1963, pp. 87A-110

(13) "The Oppenheimer Security Case of 1954," by U. S. Representative Craig Hosmer (Rep., Calif.), including findings of AEC, *Congressional Record* (daily), July 11, 1963, pp. A4346-7

(14) "Spotlight Of Probers Is On Rusk," by Edith Kermit Roosevelt, *The San Diego Union*, October 20, 1963, p. c2

(15) UPI dispatch from Washington, *The Dallas Times Herald*, November 10, 1963, p. 22A.

(16) AP dispatch from Washington, *The Dallas Morning News*, November 19, 1963, Section 1, p. 3

(17) "McLeod Report," by David Barnett of North American Newspaper Alliance, *The Dallas Morning News*, February 4, 1964, Section 1, p. 6

(18) *Washington Post* article by Dan Kurzman, *The Los Angeles Times*, July 12, 1962, part 1, p. 30

(19) AP dispatch from Santiago, *The Dallas Times Herald*, March 17, 1964, p. 1A

WHO IS DAN SMOOT?

Born in Missouri, reared in Texas, Dan Smoot went to SMU in Dallas, getting BA and MA degrees in 1938 and 1940. In 1941, he joined the faculty at Harvard as a Teaching Fellow in English, doing graduate work for a doctorate in American Civilization.

In 1942, he left Harvard and joined the FBI. As an FBI Agent, he worked for three and a half years on communist investigations in the industrial Midwest; two years on FBI headquarters staff in Washington; and almost four years on general FBI cases in various parts of the nation.

In 1951, Smoot resigned from the FBI and helped start Facts Forum. On Facts Forum radio and television programs, Smoot spoke to a national audience, giving both sides of controversial issues.

In July, 1955, he resigned and started his present independent publishing and broadcasting business — a free-enterprise operation financed entirely by profits from sales: sales of *The Dan Smoot Report*, a weekly magazine; and sales of a weekly news-analysis broadcast, to business firms, for use on radio and television as an advertising vehicle. The *Report* and the broadcast give only one side in presenting documented truth about important issues — the side that uses the American Constitution as a yardstick. The *Report* is available by subscription; and the broadcasts are available for commercial sponsorship, anywhere in the United States.

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COUNTERATTACK

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM AND THOSE WHO AID ITS CAUSE

Dear Subscriber:

- 137 -

August 28, 1964
Vol. 18, No. 18

THE NEGRO REBELLION: AN APPRAISAL

Shortly before the July battle for New York City, leaders of civil rights forces were in communication with Walter Reuther in Detroit, seat of his political intrigues.

The purpose of the meeting ostensibly was to limit these and other hostilities expected to erupt over the nation and to convert the results into Socialist rather than raw Communist objectives.

A year ago, Reuther assumed a role as spokesman for the agitated Negro unrest by declaring before the National Urban League, a civil rights command meeting in Los Angeles:

"If we cannot resolve the (civil rights) issue with reason we will resolve it with riots that will tear the fabric of America. We will have a civil war ... in the backyards of the nation."

The specific demand behind Reuther's threat was that the Congress pass the Civil Rights Bill, now appraised by reasonable men as embodying hidden designs for the compulsory Socialization of the United States.

The passage of the legislation failed to persuade the more hostile of the leaders to lower the guns they had pointed at the heart of the nation. No one really expected it would.

The Detroit caucus was proof in itself of the realization that the smoldering rebellion would break out in flaming battles at haphazard times and places, regardless of how many demands were met or with what humility.

The fact that no public appeal was made against fresh outbreaks of violence might be considered as proof that at least some of the leaders wanted the rebellion to continue.

If New York City fell, a hundred other cities across the nation would have to fight for their lives as an immediate consequence.

If these were devastated, the battle of backyards would be transformed overnight to a battle for the nation, which then would become a vast battlefield.

Who could then say that Soviet rockets fired from Cuban bases would not serve as nuclear artillery for the insurrectionists and thus assure them the advantage over other Americans, black and white, defending their nation,

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their families, their homes and their freedom from marauders operating as civil rights action units, reinforced by looters, arsonists and rapists, black and white; who never care under which flag they are allowed to commit their atrocities.

The men in touch with Reuther must have known that Moscow had assigned the responsibility for winning America for the Negroes to Fidel Castro. Castro himself has made this plain and his radio, even more than television networks in the United States, has served as a communications system as well as exhorter for the insurgency. Negro Communists from the United States have gone to Havana, first with the passive connivance of the State Department and later with the open sanction of the U.S. Supreme Court, in a decision written by Associate Justice Arthur Goldberg, for the purpose of calling by radio on American Negroes to accept open Communist leadership of their revolt and to declare the rebellion's objective to be the complete destruction of the government of the United States.

Reuther who fancies himself a builder of the future does not seem, in his present thinking, to believe in the black destiny in which Communism would bury the United States.

It is true that John L. Lewis once called him a dedicated Marxist. It is also true that Reuther's brother Victor once wrote a letter from the Soviet Union where both went in 1934 on what their enemies have called a pilgrimage. The letter, written to Melvin, and Gladys Bishop, personal friends of the Reuthers, ended with this sentence:

"Carry on the fight for a Soviet America."

It was signed Vic and Wal, who since has characterized the letter, which contained fulsome praise for the Soviet Union, as no more than adolescent enthusiasm and the closing line as a forgery, precipitating a spirited rebuttal:

He was a student of the Brookwood Labor School, at Katonah, New York, called Communistic by the American Federation of Labor, as well as by the HCUA:

Michigan Governor George Romney said several years ago that no man in Detroit is more adroit than Walter Reuther in "bringing about revolution without seeming to disturb the existing order of society."

Reuther participated side by side with Communist leaders in the violent revolution which captured the automobile industry for Communist unionism. Then he turned on the Communists and seized the CIO for Socialism.

He may have been convinced he could do the same thing with the Negro rebellion once it was successful.

The civil rights leaders would not have needed to discuss a time for a signal for the uprisings.

It was necessary to set neither time nor signal for the battle for New York City. Hardly a day passes that Negroes, as well as whites, are not

caught by police in the commission of crimes. In many instances attempts to arrest them result in local riots. The problem was how to expand the local disturbances into large scale street fighting.

The New York City battle began on July 16th, when a white building superintendent accidentally sprayed some water on a group of summer students of Senator Robert F. Wagner Junior High School who were loitering in East Seventy-Sixth Street in Manhattan.

The youths chased the building superintendent into the building and at this point Lieutenant Thomas R. Gilligan, a hero of the police department, emerged from a neighborhood television shop and, seeing the disturbance, showed his badge and announced his identity. One of the group, fifteen-year-old James Powell advanced upon the officer with a knife. Lieutenant Gilligan fired twice, killing the young assailant on the spot.

With suspicious speed, others converged on the scene and in short order a full size street battle began to develop. Shock units of the rebellion took up positions on roof tops and began hurling home made bombs and rocks down upon police who at this point must have realized that they literally were fighting not only for their own lives but for the lives of the city's millions of peaceful inhabitants, white and black, and for the protection of property worth billions of dollars.

The battle spread from Harlem to the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn and trained action units sped from one battle front to the other in an effort to break the defense interposed by the police department and thus bring the city to its knees.

For long hours the result hung in the balance. Except for the gallantry of the defenders, the city would have fallen to conquerors as inhuman in their savagery and lust as ever sacked and plundered a helpless citizenry.

During the fighting a leader of the civil rights uprising claimed to have talked by telephone with the President of the United States. The leader said that he had asked the President to send troops and that the President had agreed to take the request under favorable consideration.

The leader in question had been outspoken in demands that the city suspend Lieutenant Gilligan and that a civilian review board, acceptable to the insurgents be appointed to rule on the behaviour of police officers discharging their duties with courage and dedication -- yes, and with force.

He had been outspoken in his demand that Negro policemen be assigned to the city's battlefields.

It might be reasoned that the same conditions were inherent in his request for troops.

It cannot be reasoned, no matter what, that the leader expected the President to send troops to put down the rebellion with force. Or that the President believed that this was what the leader had in mind. The President is not so dull as to have misunderstood the implications.

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In a close decision, the President sent in agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation instead. It must have tried the President's political soul to have to assign an impartial agency of the Government to check into the backgrounds of some of the individuals operating behind the scenes to bring success to violence condoned by his political allies and henchmen.

The President issued a public statement to the effect that the best way to win would be for the Negroes to rely on ballots instead of bullets.

This recalled the fact that the Democratic National Committee several months before had urged Negroes throughout the nation to register so that they could mobilize more powerful pressure where their interests came into conflict.

In the end, New York City police fought off the aggression from within, saving a multitude of citizens, black and white, from fates literally worse than death.

The rebellion moved upstate to terrorize Rochester, winner of the 1963 Brotherhood Award, thence to Paterson and Elizabeth, New Jersey, and on out to the Midwest, where insurgent leaders complained because the local police officials called in neighboring police departments to help maintain law and order and some timid white politicians joined in the spurious protest.

In a move that clearly showed the coordination of the rebellion at the national level, the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King flew to New York City from Atlanta to confer with Mayor Robert Wagner. He said that his mission was one of "peace." The time for him to have discussed peace as a moderate leader, if that is what he is, would have been before the violence erupted. His role at the conference with the Mayor was more in the nature of a national leader of a revolution that had lost its crucial battle. The role of Mayor Wagner was no more than that of a subservient leader willing to help the leader of the revolt gain advantage from a lost battle.

Wagner agreed to recruit more Negro police into the New York City Police Department and to promote a series of master plans for improving the economic lot of the Negro at public expense.

At the insistence of Police Commissioner Murphy, backed by unmistakable evidence of an angry white backlash, Wagner pleaded against being compelled to suspend Lieutenant Gilligan as a preliminary to discharging the gallant officer.

New York City Councilman Theodore S. Weiss announced that he would press for passage of a bill to create an independent civilian board to review Departmental trials which resulted in the acquittal of officers found to have used force in the performance of their sworn duties.

Reporters for the Daily News seeking instigation for the violence soon had their attention called to an organization called Mobilization for Youth, Inc., endowed by the National Mental Health Institute, Inc., the City of New York, the President's Commission on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime and the Ford Foundation.

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The reporters soon were convinced that the mimeograph machines of the organized had been used to foment violence.

They focused their interest on Jesse Gray. As part of their background on him, reporters had access to the following passage from the July 3, 1964 issue of Counterattack:

New York City has a Man called "Mr. Rent Strike." His name is Jesse Gray. With the help of sob reporters he already has managed to create the impression in many sections of the city that all landlords are slumlords and that it is his public duty to eradicate them and their property rights.

A fiery slogan, Gray is perhaps the most able man in the nation to swell the ranks of rebellion overnight and to give it fresh public appeal.

"They can't evict 20 million Negroes from this country," Gray is fond of saying as he leads rent strike after rent strike in what may turn out to be dress rehearsals. Already he is credited with having recruited 4,500 tenants onto his transmission belt.

The Saturday Evening Post said of Gray that he had been unfairly criticized for supporting the right of Negro Leader Benjamin Davis to run for the New York State Senate in 1958 as a candidate of the Communist Party. It was a classic example of how to put a good face on a bad one. Actually Gray was the campaign manager for Davis.

A hearing by the House Committee on February 3, 1960, affords a close-up of Jesse Gray and Benjamin Davis and of Gray's championship of the "rights" of Davis.

The testimony was that of Albert Gaillard who said he was threatened just before he left Harlem to go to Washington to appear.

His testimony centered upon what he said was an earlier meeting with Gray, accompanied by Benjamin Davis, in Adelphi Hall in lower Manhattan where the Communist Party was holding a meeting.

Gaillard quoted both Gray and Davis as saying that the conspiracy badly needed to organize and stimulate a Negro youth movement in Harlem.

Gaillard swore that Davis assigned Gray, who he identified as a regional organizer for the Communist Party in Harlem, to work with him.

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Gaillard said that later he called at Gray's home, 1809 Seventh Avenue, to receive the Party briefing. He swore that Gray told him that "you cannot bring the idea of Communism over to the Negro youth of this community."

And that "You have it on a social basis and then you can trick them into this youth movement."

Gray followed Gaillard to the stand. He had as counsel a lawyer named Lawrence Spieser who identified himself as director of the Washington Office of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The Committee would have liked to know whether the Communist Party considered the perennial controversy over rent as a social basis on which to trick recruits into a Harlem youth insurgency. But Gray preferred to talk about his rights under the Fifth Amendment. He wouldn't even discuss his asserted membership in the party.

The paper exposed the Mobilization, in an exclusive story on August 16, saying that Jesse Gray printed both the listed and unlisted telephone numbers of the organization on inflammatory rent strike handbills.

A News reporter called the listed Number (OREgon 7-0400) and asked for Gray. He was told that Gray was not immediately available.

The paper said furthermore that "police brutality" handbills used to inflame reluctant in both the Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant battles were traced to the reproducing equipment of the Mobilization, given a budget this year by the Federal and city governments, the National Institute of Mental Health and the Ford Foundation of nearly \$4,000,000.

The fact that the United States Government was participating in the financing of the Mobilization made any such use of its facilities a matter of concern to the Department of Justice.

Asked to express the depth of this concern, David L. Hackett, special assistant to Attorney General Kennedy, said that the Federal government had no information of any alleged infiltration of the Mobilization for Youth program.

Even as he said this there was in existence an authenticated list of 45 suspects who in one way or another had been participating in the program.

His cue may have come from the attorney general himself. Robert Kennedy previously had made the statement that as far as the Federal government was aware there were Communists operating in the civil rights' movement. The statement so outraged J. Edgar Hoover that the FBI Director felt it his duty to issue a refutation before the echo of the original statement had died away.

A television network which has boasted of its participation in the rebellion carried a documentary showing Jesse Gray surveying slums no worse than those inhabited by some of the poor white trash of the city and saying in the narration that this is what caused the righteous anger of the man, a statement ignoring the possibility of a different motivation altogether. The network had access to the facts.

In its follow-up story, the New York Times said that Jesse Gray was now finding improved conditions among the city's tenements.

In the wake of the loss of the battles, there was a general lessening of belligerent tensions.

At the same time there was talk of more and more public funds for the political domains of the indigent, carved out by time and the erosion of human competition and now being inflamed by Communist techniques into hotbeds of rebellion.

Some of the funds would be, by their very natures, no more than tribute levied upon the nation by threat and blackmail. And the organizations set up would become, to an extent that cannot be forecast, action units of the conspiracy exacting the tribute in the first place.

In the month preceding the battle, New York City paid relief to 483,573 persons. This was an increase of more than twelve per cent over the previous year.

These people are public charges. In his search for a banner under which to broaden the base of the inflamed discontent, Martin Luther King called them the disadvantaged.

If the percentage on public relief rolls continues to grow at the present rate, it is conceivable that the subversives among them may yet do better as a group than had they been able to pillage the city and burn it to the ground -- except of course that they might have been able to sell hostages to the Federal government at so much a head as was done by the Cuban Communists.

Representative William E. Miller, Republican candidate for Vice President, said that hostilities in Northern cities erupted from conditions fostered by the big city Democratic organizations and demanded that the Administration stop being "half wishy-washy" in support of the aggressors.

Acting New York City Mayor Paul Screvane told newsmen that the battles had been instigated in part "by fringe groups, including the Communist Party." Later he implied that too much emphasis had been placed on the quotation by newspapers.

Mayor Wagner came home from a vacation in Europe to wheedle and cajole the insurrectionists. In the naughty-naughty passages of his pleading he said that some of the bad boys had stooped to using the methods of the Klu-Klux-Klan and the night riders. One listener failed to hear him mention the Communists once.

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The Mayor's father, Senator Robert M. Wagner, maintained very close relations with the party. In fact there is evidence that the Labor Act bearing the late Senator's name was an official Communist Party document.

Among the effects of the late Harry Dexter White, treasury official who ranked high in the Soviet espionage apparatus, was a letter promising to intervene in Washington to get the senator's son, the present mayor, out of the army before his wartime duty tour was over.

After the Daily News exposed the Mobilization for Youth, its chairman, Winslow Carlton, called the stories carried in the newspaper "invalid, irresponsible (and) shadowy." The MFY said it would investigate itself.

The paper reported that this in itself was enough to encourage all official agencies investigating the MFY to continue their own probes. The NEWS stated further that the paper would match its responsibility against that of Carlton any day.

The mayor may yet find it necessary to mention the word Communism in so distasteful a context.

From the Publisher:

It has been suggested by some of our subscribers that we should offer bound copies of Counterattack with indices based on subject matter rather than dates. Thus we would have an indexed booklet on the Negro rebellion or on foreign policies, etc. If there is enough demand from our readers we will ascertain the cost. May we hear from you if you are interested?

John G. Keenan

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OBJECTIVES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

1. PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE, PEACE
(Amer. Bar Assoc. Report, Congress. Record of 8-22-58, p. 6
"H.U.A.C. Report No. 1251, page 12)
2. DISARMAMENT
(Peoples World of 10-10-59, page 5—Report of the Judiciary Committee, 3-20-60; Page 5)
3. BAN NUCLEAR TESTING
(Report of the Judiciary Committee, 3-20-60, page 5)
4. ABOLISH LOYALTY-SECURITY LAWS
(Amer. Bar Assoc. Report, Congress. Record of 8-22-58, p. 6)
5. ABOLISH LOYALTY OATHS
"H.U.A.C. Report No. 187 of 3-8-59, Page 54)
6. ABOLISH ALL INVESTIGATIVE COMMITTEES ON COMMUNISM
"H.U.A.C. Report No. 187 of 3-8-59, page 54)
7. INTEGRATION
("Subversion in Racial Unrest," Public Hearings State of Louisiana, March 1957—H.U.A.C. Report No. 1251 of 2-8-60)
8. CHANGE THE SOCIAL ORDER
("Blueprint for World Revolt," by Peter Stell, 1919-1956)
9. INCREASE FOREIGN AID AND FOREIGN AID TO COMMUNIST COUNTRIES
(Report of the Judiciary Com. of 3-20-60, p. 6)
10. RECOGNITION OF RED CHINA
(Amer. Bar Assoc. Report, Congress. Record of 3-22-58, p. 8)
11. ADVANCE PROPAGANDA EFFORTS THROUGH CHURCH
"(H.U.A.C. Report No. 257 of 4-3-59, page 73—and "Communism in the churches, by J. B. Matthews")
12. RECRUIT OTHERS FOR THE CONSPIRACY
"(H.U.A.C. Report No. 187, p. 54 (1959)—No. 259, p. 57 of 4-59).
13. JOIN POLITICAL AND LABOR MOVEMENTS
(Judiciary Committee Reports of 3-20-60 pages 18 to 22, and of 12-21-55 (pages 90-91).
14. DISCREDIT J. EDGAR HOOVER AND THE F.B.I.
(Edward J. Mowery, L. A. Times, 4-19-59 and "The Nation" of October 18, 1958)
15. DESTRUCTION OF IMMIGRATION AND PASSPORT LAWS
"(H.U.A.C. Report No. 187, p. 45, 3-8-59 and No. 1251, p. 43, 1960).
—From The United Society of Methodist Laymen, Inc.

OBJECTIVES OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

1. PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE, PEACE
(Communist Peoples World, 3-5-60, page 3) ("Recognize Red China," Circuit Riders, Inc., pages 2-8-13)
2. DISARMAMENT
(Communist Peoples World, 3-5-60, page 3, also "Recognize Red China," Circuit Riders, Cincinnati, Ohio)
3. BAN NUCLEAR TESTING
(Communist Peoples World, 8-17-57, page 7)
4. ABOLISH LOYALTY-SECURITY LAWS
("Communism in the Churches," by J. B. Matthews, page 7)
5. ABOLISH LOYALTY OATHS
(Communist Peoples World, 9-13-54, page 3)
6. ABOLISH ALL INVESTIGATIVE COMMITTEES ON COMMUNISM
(American Legion Newspaper, "Firing Line")
7. INTEGRATE
(Article by Marcus Bath in Presby. Magazine, "Social Progress")
(Rev. Martin Luther King, Peoples World 3-5-60)
8. CHANGE THE SOCIAL ORDER
(The National Council of Churches, Appraisal, Carl McIntire)
9. INCREASE FOREIGN AID AND FOREIGN AID FROM COMMUNIST COUNTRIES
("News and Views," Wheaton, Ill., Oct., 1958)
10. RECOGNITION OF RED CHINA
(Dr. R. A. Syrdal, Congress. Record of 2-25-59, and Peoples World, Feb. 5, 1960)
11. ADVANCE PROPAGANDA EFFORTS THROUGH COMMUNIST FRONTS
("Communism in the Churches," by J. B. Matthews, page 9)
12. RECRUIT OTHERS TO THE CONSPIRACY
("Communism in the Churches," by J. B. Matthews, page 9)
13. JOIN POLITICAL AND LABOR MOVEMENTS
Economic Council Letter No. 440, 10-1-58)
14. DISCREDIT J. EDGAR HOOVER AND THE F.B.I.
("Communism in the Churches," by J. B. Matthews, page 21)
15. DESTRUCTION OF IMMIGRATION AND PASSPORT LAWS
"(H.U.A.C. Report No. 187, 3-8-59, p. 45, "News and Views", 6-55)
"H.U.A.C.—House Un-American Activities Committee.